

ART IN AMERICA
AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BI-MONTHLY

VOLUME SIX

EDITED BY
FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN



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MCMXVIII

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PAINTINGS
PORCELAINS
TAPESTRIES**

NEW YORK.

PARIS.



GEROME BOSCH: ADORATION OF THE MAGI
COLLECTION OF MR. JOHN G. JOHNSON, PHILADELPHIA

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ART IN AMERICA · AN ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE · VOLUME VI
NUMBER I · DECEMBER MCMXVII

PAINTINGS BY JEROME BOSCH IN AMERICA · BY
FRANK JEWETT MATHER, JR.

EXCEPT in Spain, where he was eagerly bought and copiously plagiarized, Hieronymus van Aeken, better known as Jerome Bosch, has never risen to the ranks of a favorite artist. If America is now fairly rich in his works, the fact is due to the zeal of a single American, the late Mr. Johnson of Philadelphia. Indeed Bosch, with all his power and his somewhat sinister fascination, has distinct disadvantages from the collector's point of view. Of his personality and life we know next to nothing, except that he was active at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The researches of Justi, Glück, Dollmayr, Gossart and Lafond have not succeeded in identifying his master, in telling where he may have worked or traveled outside of his native town of Hertogenbosch, or even in establishing a sure canon of his authentic works. All that is certain is that he was a great master in diabolism and caricature, and a potent influence for a half-century after his death. Pictures ascribed to Bosch have to be taken quite at their face value. This will be my aim in describing the Bosches which have found their way to America. Generally my remarks must be purely topical, for we have small holding ground either in chronology or in minuter connoisseurship of authenticity.

What seems to be the earliest Bosch on my list is the delightful little Adoration of the Magi (Lafond, No. 2), formerly in the Lippman Collection, Berlin, and now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 1). Bosch has accepted the monumental arrangement of the theme which we find in Rogier de La Pasture and Memling. One would expect him to grasp at the more informal arrangement preferred by Hugo Van der Goes. We may almost infer that the versions of Van der Goes were unknown to Bosch, whereas it is pretty certain that he saw late Rogiers of the type of the Munich Epiphany.

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But, while accepting the central position of the Madonna, and, in the gold cloth of honor, retaining the tradition of the throne, Bosch has done everything to deformatize the theme. He gains a familiar quality simply by reducing the scale of the figures. Instead of the stately Romanesque pavilion of Rogier and Memling, we have a fine ruin of a castle panoramically displayed in the background. The Madonna becomes rustic and housewifely rather than a virginal princess. The three kings become grotesque mimes, true denizens of a fairy tale. The landscape is simplified and in its somewhat bleached tonality suggests actual observation and velleities of *pleinairisme*. In every way it is a compromise between the monumentality proper to the earlier Burgundian masters and the drastic rusticity which was Bosch's contribution to the new manner. His endeavor seems parallel to the nearly contemporary innovations of Van der Goes and Dirk Bouts and quite independent of them. If I am right in setting this Epiphany no later than 1480, it should be one of Bosch's earliest works.

Not much later, perhaps, Bosch perfected that rustic type of the Epiphany which we find best represented in the famous triptych of the Prado (Lafond, 1). The scene is a crumbling, thatched cattle shed. Peering yokels spy from the roof and through the chinks in the wall, while the kings are incongruously worshipful amid so much squalor. Joseph is no longer in the picture. The Madonna is set at the right so that the Magi approach in a rather processional way. Lafond catalogues no less than seven variants of this famous picture, to which may be added the interesting version in the John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Fig. 2). It differs chiefly from the Prado version in shortening the panel, lowering the very high horizon to a more credible position below the gable of the barn, and raising to the level of the Virgin's head the height of the gap through which the shepherds peer. On the whole, the picture gains from these changes. An intermediate version of inferior quality, with the horizon slightly lowered but still higher than the gable, is in the Ryks Museum at Amsterdam and pictured in Lafond. The delicate quality of the Johnson picture justifies us in regarding it as a studio replica executed in great part by the artist himself.

Bosch loved to play upon the theme of the Epiphany. In the church of Anderlecht, near Brussels, Lafond notes a variant of the

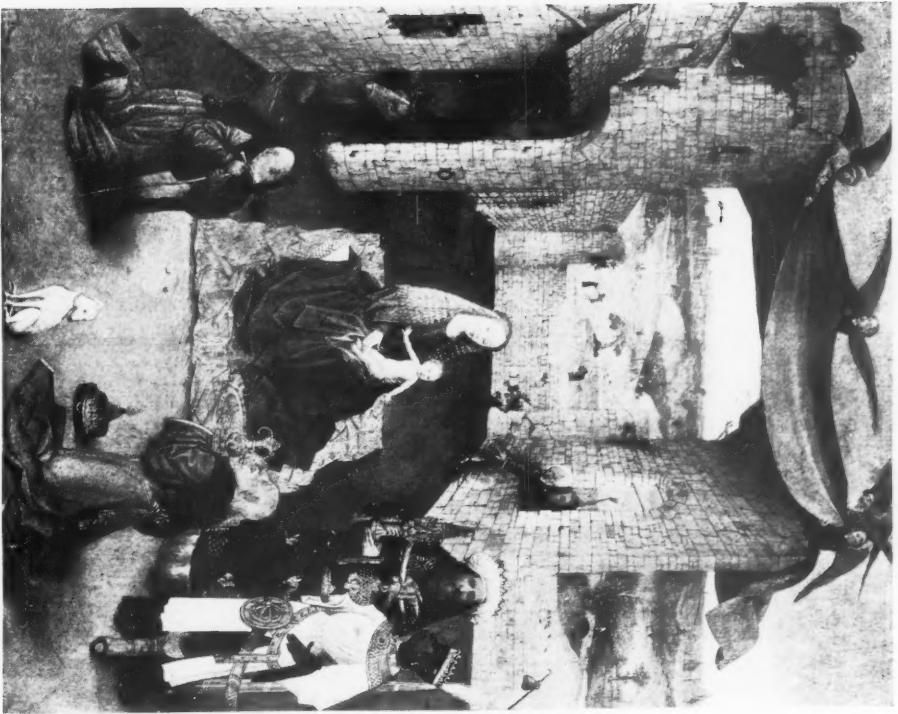


Fig. 1. JEROME BOSCH: ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

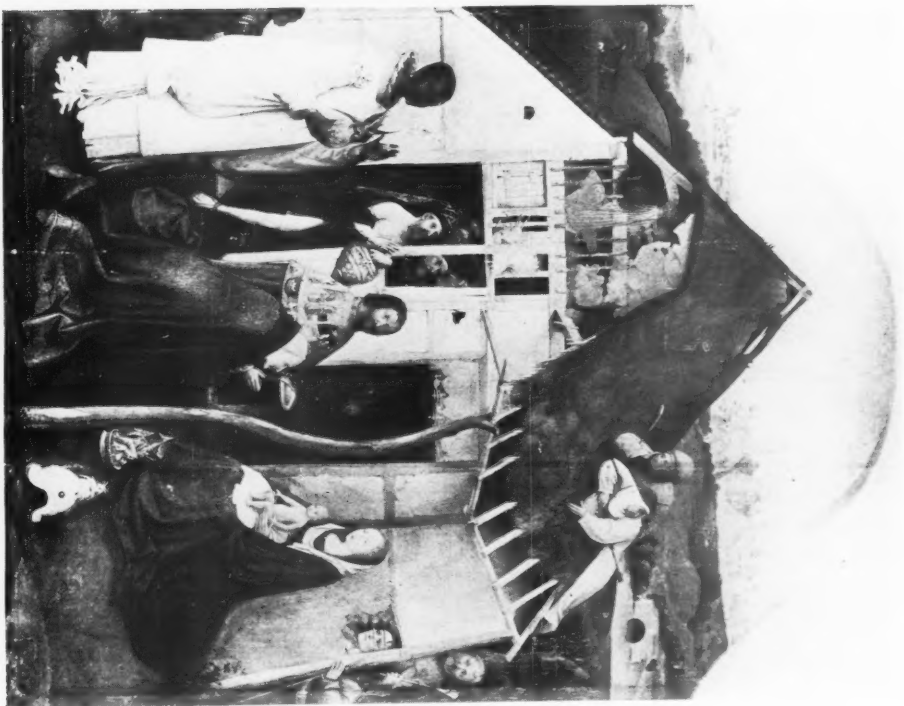
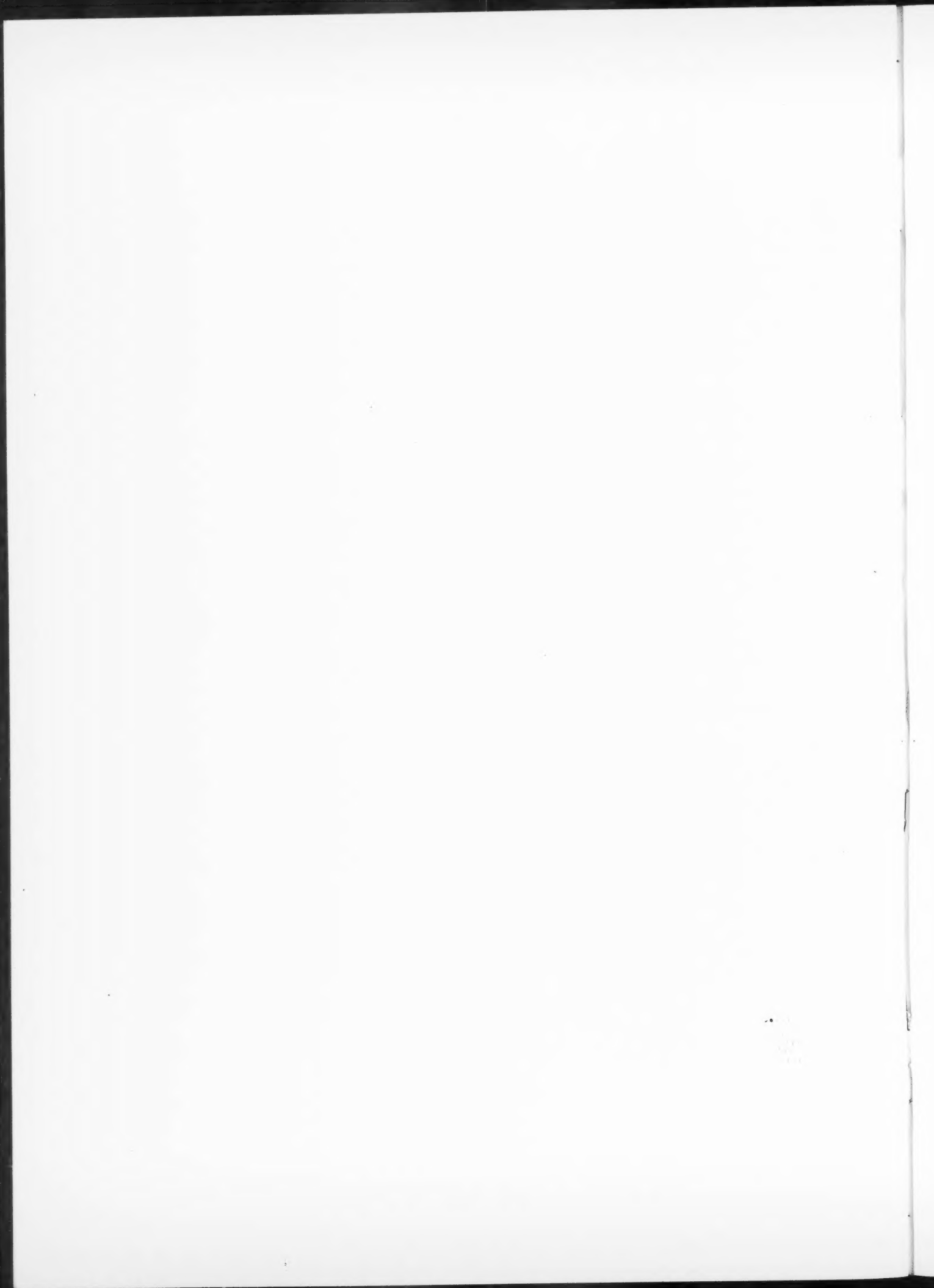


Fig. 2. JEROME BOSCH: ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.



Prado piece. The Madonna is shifted to the left, the Moorish king is behind her, while she faces the other two. The Child reaches more eagerly for the gifts. This may be a middle stage towards Bosch's most eager and intimate version of the theme which we find again in the Johnson Collection (Plate). The Virgin is more peasant-like and motherly. The Child reaches eagerly for the reliquary, which is fairly thrust upon him by the kneeling foremost Mage. The other two kings quietly await their turn. The Moorish king at the right is no longer in magisterial gown, but caparisoned like a courtier, with the Miracle of the Manna embroidered on his wide sleeve. Old Joseph rubs his bewildered head. The two shepherds are no longer outrageously spying, but modestly looking away. The grange has become a mere shed, with no insistence on its disorder. Birds enliven the roof and upper window spaces, and at the two sides there is a lovely glimpse of pasture landscape with distant church spires. All the restless elements in Bosch's earlier versions of the Epiphany have been smoothed out. The grotesque features are not over-emphasized. As a pure bit of rural idyllism it is as complete in its way as his little Adoration of the Shepherds at Cologne. The workmanship is exquisite, with the most delicate iridescences. We can unhesitatingly affirm the autographic character of the picture. It is odd that so accomplished a piece should not have produced the usual fringe of copies.

Closely allied to these Epiphany pictures are two little panels recently acquired by Mr. Johnson. They undoubtedly formed the wings of a triptych of which the central panel was an Adoration of the Magi. From the left two shepherds with their dog approach (Fig. 3) the scene. One with a pipe is already kneeling and awkwardly turned towards his fellow, who is capped and mittened against the winter cold. Others are coming through the door. The setting is good Romanesque, after the tradition of the Van Eycks and Rogier de la Pasture. The mood is simple and reverent without that accentuation of grimace which is common in the mature works. The companion panel (Fig. 4) shows the cavalcade of the Magi following the star. The sense of solicitude is well conveyed. Again the characterization falls short of caricature. All these traits seem to point to a very early period in Bosch's development, and the rather coarse and uncertain execution might either suggest a juvenile work or the aid of a studio assistant. The dimensions may some

day permit these interesting pieces to be associated with their now missing central panel. They do not closely agree with any extant Epiphanies in the milieu of Bosch.

In work of this idyllic and rustic inspiration Bosch is more ingratiating than original. It was a mood that he shared with other contemporaries. It was his diabolism that won him fame and made his school. Even in the sixteenth century it was difficult to distinguish between the real Bosches and the imitation. A Spanish connoisseur, Don Felipe de Guevara, warns amateurs against the more extravagant and grotesque inventions which usurped the master's name. As the most drastic picture of this ambiguous type which has reached America, we may consider the Christ before the People, of the Johnson Collection (Fig. 6). It is recorded as No. 9 in Lafond's catalogue, and he lists numerous variants. I know of no picture that has more forcefully caught the wolf-like character of the human pack. Jackal-like might be an even truer word for the way in which this Jewish mob yelps for innocent blood. It is the moment when the crowd howls "Crucify Him!" The decorative quality of the panel in its firmly stamped lights of faces, and darks of tunnel, columns and weapons is both startling and effective. Very skilful, too, is the subordination of the scene at the left, where the murder of the Christ is plotted. The group is almost more sinister in its malign eagerness than the more bestial violence of the throng.

It is precisely the abandon of this extraordinary little picture that makes me doubt if it be a Bosch. In his sure works he is never frenetic; on the contrary, somewhat detached and calculating. In the Bearing of the Cross, at Ghent, in the various versions of the Crowning with Thorns, in the Christ before Pilate, at Princeton—and equally so in the purely fantastic pieces—Bosch reveals himself as a cool intelligence. He calculates his nightmares in order to perturb us, but is himself little perturbed. He thinks out his horrors quite lucidly, and never lets himself go. The Johnson picture seems to me to be by a more expansive nature. We have a man swayed and exalted by the horror of his own inventions. It is the abandon of the mood that counts, and it is a mood quite lacking in a true Bosch. His creation is purely cerebral. Since no convincing analysis of the numerous imitators of Bosch has ever been made, the attribution of this work, despite its distinctive tang, must be doubtful. I only feel sure that if the Fantastic Landscape, in the Prado,



Figs. 3 and 4. TWO WINGS OF A TRIPTYCH.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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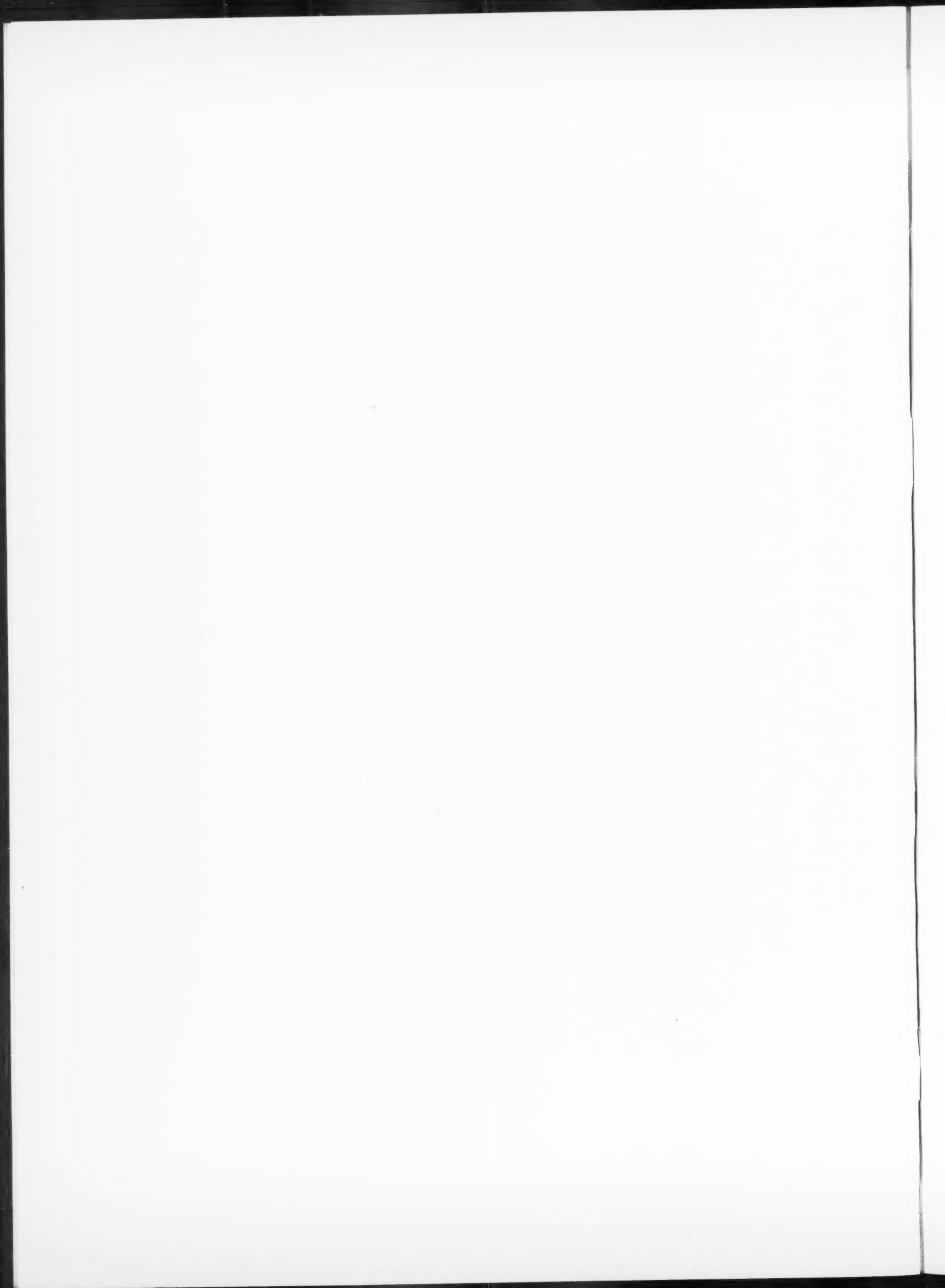
Fig. 5. JEROME BOSCH: MOCKING OF CHRIST.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson,
Philadelphia.



Fig. 6. JEROME BOSCH(?): CHRIST BEFORE
THE PEOPLE.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson,
Philadelphia.



Fig. 7. JEROME BOSCH: CHRIST BEFORE PILATE.
Art Museum of Princeton University. Property of Prof. Allan Marquand.



ascribed to Peter Huys, is really by that master, then the Johnson picture is also by Huys. Both in physiognomy and accessories the pictures are linked as the work of one mind and hand.

A most characteristic Bosch is the Mocking of Christ in the Johnson Collection (Fig. 5). Lafond lists it as No. 6. The little known version in the Antwerp Gallery has a portrait of an ecclesiastic donor looking placidly out of the picture. From the omission of this feature Mr. Johnson's picture gains concentration. Yet concentration is only relative in such a work. Physiognomy is what counts. Not much more is intended than the contrast between the resignation of the Christ and the servile malice of his mockers. There is complete waiver of anything like decorative effect, and only study of the faces will establish a sufficient psychological unity of impression. It is a picture that especially well illustrates that coldness and detachment in Bosch which we have already noted. It is one of the most placid Christs Mocked which we have in art, and perhaps the least overtly pathetic. Bosch envisages the theme with an almost inhuman impartiality, giving true account of everything, from the measured atrocity of the man who drives the thorns into the Saviour's brow to the official yet determined phlegm of the two Pharisees at the left. It is the more lyrical and pathetic note of the somewhat similar compositions at the Escorial and at Valencia (Lafond, Nos. 4, 5) which makes me suspect that they may be rather Spanish adaptations of the motive of the Johnson picture than original works by Jerome Bosch. In particular, the type of the Christ in these Spanish versions is Italianate and quite unlike anything found among the authenticated pictures. The signatures of these Spanish pictures may simply show that the name had become generic for a particular type of grotesque invention. Indeed, a Bosch, generally speaking, is more desirable without a signature than with one. Of course critics, as Dr. Valentiner in the Johnson catalogue, who accept the Valencian picture are inclined to regard such derivatives of the Johnson picture as school pieces.

Oddly M. Lafond catalogues no variants of the Antwerp picture of Christ Mocked, probably because, while numerous, they are generally of negligible quality. One such was lately sold in the dispersal of the remainder of the stock of the Blakeslee Galleries, in New York, last winter.

At the recent sale of the Riabouchinsky Collection appeared a

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damaged but extraordinarily significant example of Bosch's mature art. This Christ among the Doctors, which has been added to the treasures of the Johnson Collection (Fig. 8), is entirely unknown to the critics. A certain awkwardness in the arrangement and the not very pleasant surfaces disguise the real quality of the work. But on close inspection the fine pale iridescences and the traces of incisive line tell what the picture has been. As a study in physiognomy and psychology few works of the master excel it. The pitiful earnest little Christ is beset at the right by a group of dullards, at the left by a more formidable group consisting of a mystic, a fanatic, and a pedant. The unevenness of the contest is emphasized. Compare the magisterial little Christs of many Italian pictures. All the poses and gestures are surprised from life—the two dozing doctors with their hands comfortably tucked in their fur cuffs, the nervous gesture of the Boy Christ, the rigidly retracted head of the bearded fanatic. Doubtless the lighting was originally fine. The attempt to light from behind is novel. We have it in Aelbert van Outwater's Resurrection of Lazarus, now at Berlin, which Bosch may have seen at Haarlem. Probably the glimpse of a street with Joseph and Mary approaching was originally attractive. Such small figures in middle distance habitually diversify the works of the Van Eycks and of Rogier de la Pasture. The rather nondescript air of the architecture and perspective might conceivably suggest an early date, but against this is to be set the extraordinary perfection of the characterization. Art has few more sinister faces than those of the two fanatical Levites who sit at the Christ's right. It remains only to note that the original frame, with a tiled floor in perspective, serves as an actual vestibule to the picture, and that the prominent butterfly on the floor should have some meaning as symbol or rebus, which escapes me.

An admirable tragic pendant to this pathetic apparition is the tremendous Christ before Pilate (Fig. 7; Lafond No. 8). It belongs to Professor Allan Marquand and has for years been loaned by him to the Art Museum of Princeton University. Again the Christ is caught between weakness and fanaticism, as years before in the Temple. Pilate evades the unpleasant business as he quietly washes his hands. The human pack bawls and rages behind. Their brutality is purposeful and will win. The Christ, a worn, non-resisting little peasant—the type straight from Dirk Bouts—stands dumb and

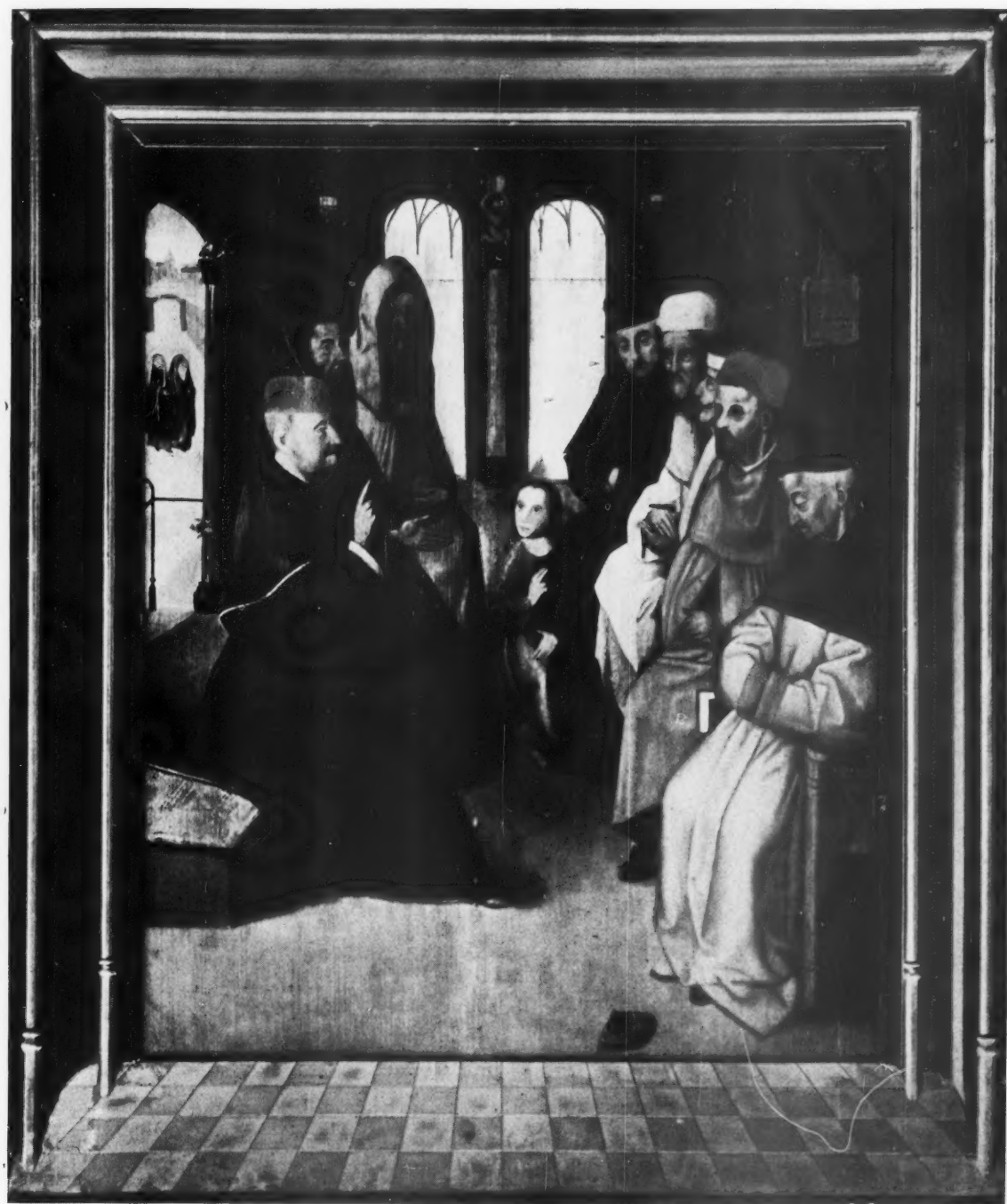


Fig. 8. JEROME BOSCH: CHRIST AMONG THE DOCTORS.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

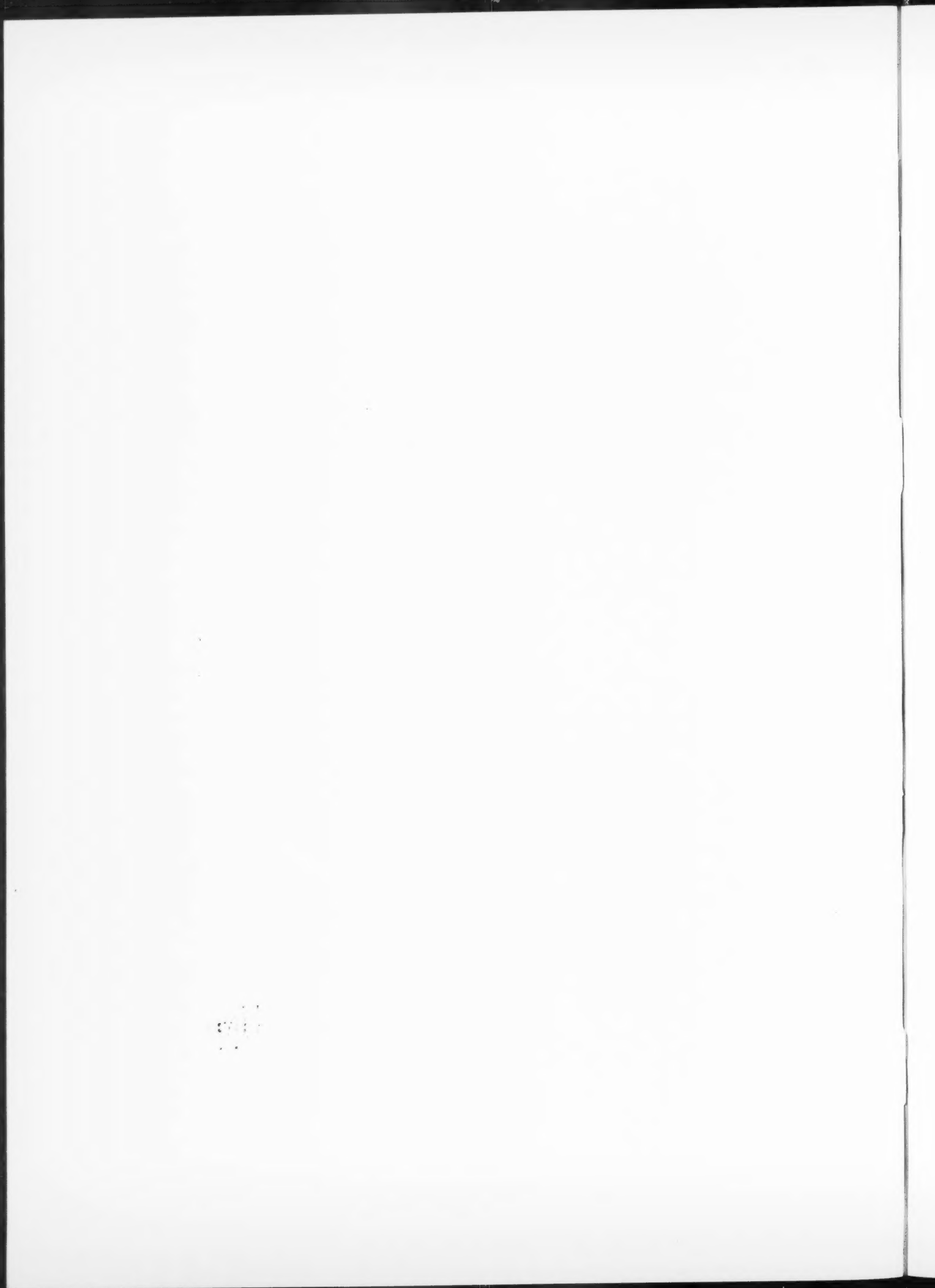




Fig. 9. LEONARDO DA VINCI: CARICATURES.
Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.

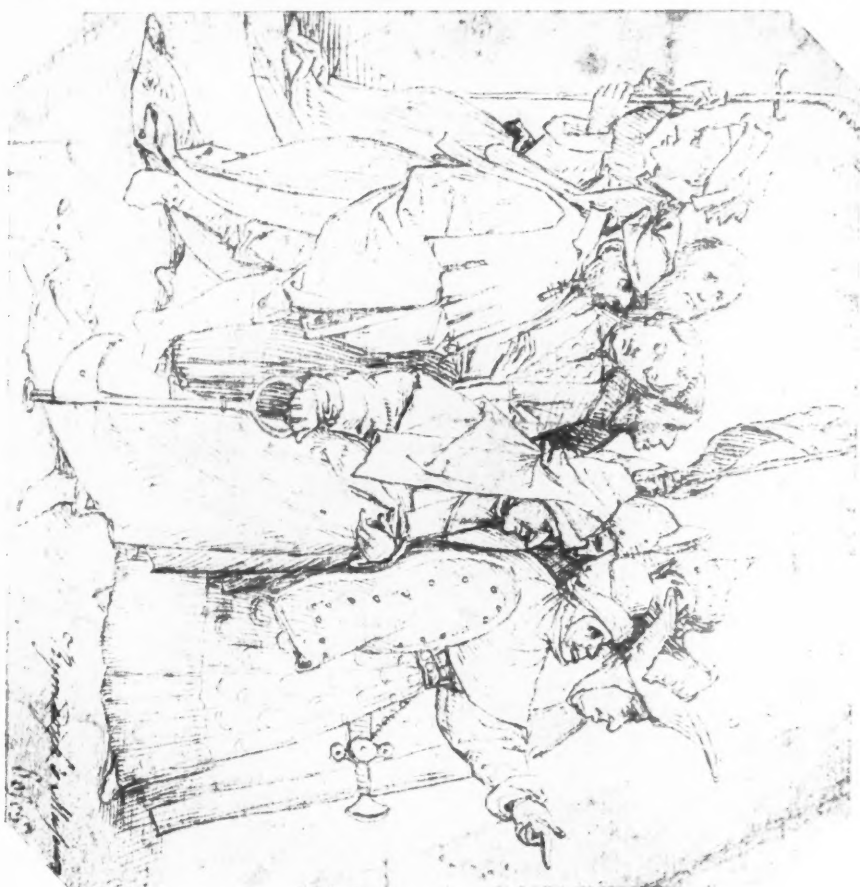
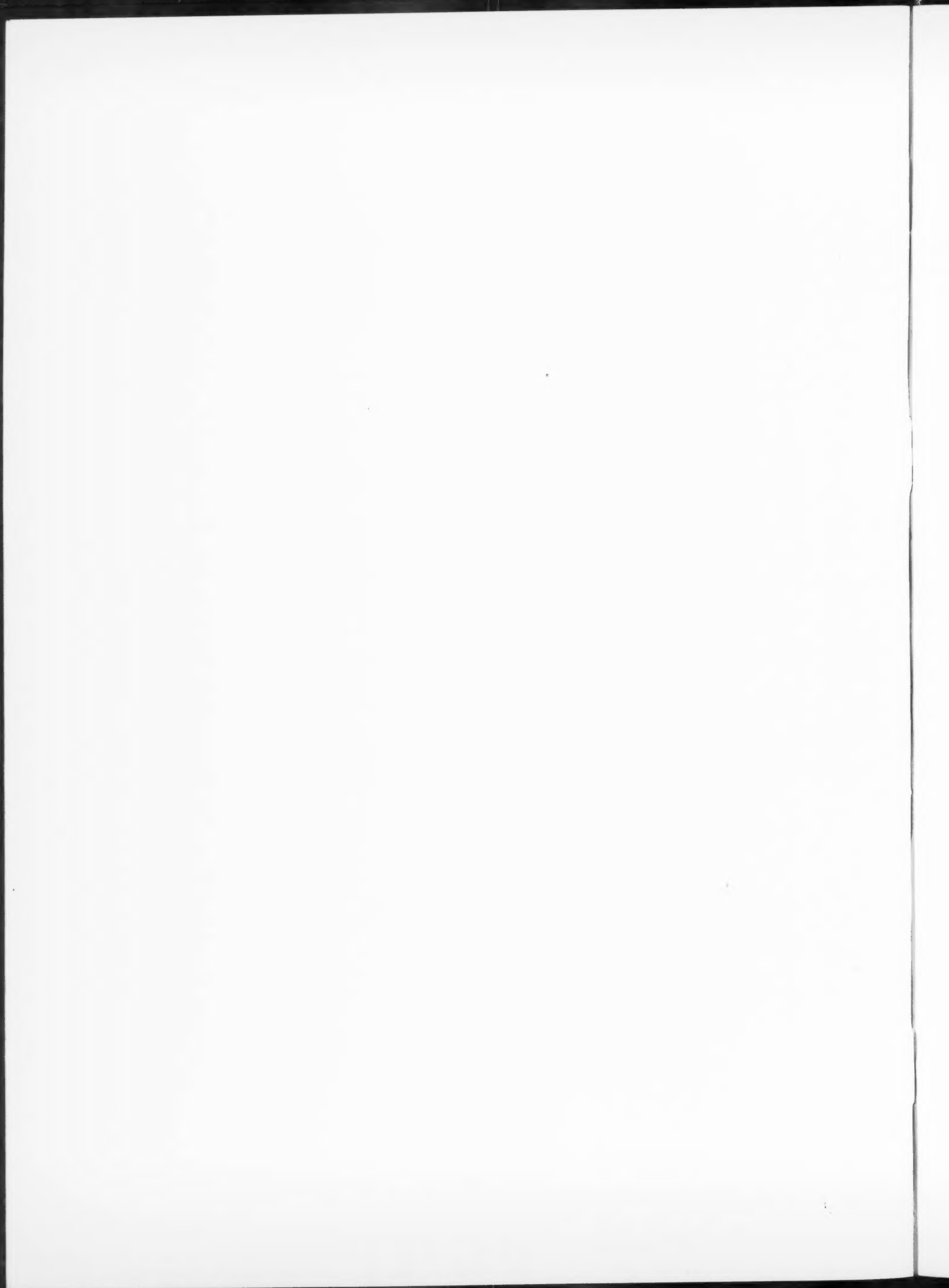


Fig. 10. JEROME BOSCH: DRAWING.
Collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan, New York.



patient and lets the storm rage. The color abounds in deep, sinister greens and russets, in icy-blue reflection of light upon casque and weapon. The workmanship is of the most superb authority, and absolutely intact. The delineation, to the flamboyant cusps at the upper corners, is athletic and definitive. No picture better exemplifies the calculated vehemence of the master and his especial gift of doing a passionate thing with critical detachment.

Of course, the nearest parallel is the Christ Bearing His Cross at Ghent (Lafond, No. 12), but this is more painful. It lacks such relief and modulation as the impassive Christ and the dilettante Pilate. Both pictures must, I think, fall within the sixteenth century and be from the end of the master's life.

How Bosch came to the concentrated arrangements, mere wreaths of malign faces, is an interesting problem. It was a perfectly natural development for him to follow, as a physiognomist. Perhaps we need no further or external explanation. Yet there are suggestive precedents. Mantegna in his late, mystic phase often reduced his compositions to strongly characterized heads. A capital example is in America in the Johnson Adoration of the Magi. Dürer followed this mode in his Christ among the Doctors in the Barberini Palace, Rome, a picture which may well be a little earlier than the masterpieces of Bosch at Ghent and at Princeton. It has been suggested that Bosch in his caricature types may have been influenced by the similar drawings of Leonardo da Vinci. This is possible, but not necessary, for caricature in Bosch may be traced to a date when Leonardo's influence is not thinkable. Yet, a sheet of Leonardo's caricatures at Windsor (Fig. 9) affords a most interesting parallel with the Princeton picture. We have a dignified Roman face in profile, crowned with the civic oak wreath, surrounded by four howling, leering, or scowling faces. Unless I am mistaken the motive here is Pilate amid the Jews, and the sheet is one that might well have been the starting point for the Princeton masterpiece.

Bosch's infernal vein, that of the Last Judgment and Temptation of St. Anthony, is, so far as I know, represented in America only by an inferior and relatively late school piece, on the familiar theme of the *Visio Tugdali*, in the store-room of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A few years ago the Parisian dealer, M. Emile Pacully,

had over here a Last Judgment, which, despite its signature, seemed only a school piece. I presume it was taken back to Europe.

Drawings by Bosch are of great rarity, and they much need critical sifting. Such masterpieces as the sheets of sketches in the Louvre and Albertina stand apart. No such authority attaches to the sheet which the late J. P. Morgan acquired with the Fairfax Murray Collection of Old Masters. It is now loaned to the Fogg Museum, and a photograph courteously provided with the owner's consent, by Mr. Paul J. Sachs, permits me to publish it, I believe, for the first time (Fig. 10). It is No. 18 of the drawings listed by Lafond. It apparently represents a group of ten pilgrims running hesitatingly forward with their banneret. The touch is delicate and humorous rather than robust, but the manner is very close to that of the designs for the woman barber which are generally ascribed to Bosch. In a character and composition sketch we must not expect the snap and thrust that are proper in a sketch that specifically searches the form. In its general movement the group is not unlike the group of charlatans that follow the Hay Cart, in the famous picture at the Prado. Probably the blackletter signature **bosch** has only the value of an old and entirely credible attribution.

Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore owns a big Last Judgment ascribed to Pieter Huys. The work is in general related to Bosch's famous picture at Vienna. The darkened condition of the Walters picture makes any attribution hazardous until an adequate cleaning shall have revealed the character of the touch and the color.

GAINSBOROUGH'S AMERICAN SITTER • BY MAURICE W. BROCKWELL

IT is peculiarly appropriate at the present time that we should comment on Gainsborough's fine portrait of Sir Benjamin Thompson, better known as Count Rumford, which has for about seven years been in the collection of Mr. Edmund Cogswell Converse at Greenwich, Conn. Born at Woburn, Mass., of parents who were on both sides of English descent, he was knighted in England in 1784, raised to the dignities of a Count in Bavaria seven years later, and from about 1802 recognized in France as a leading scientist. Many have regretted that the genius of so eminent an American should not have been displayed on his native soil, a fact



THOMAS GAINSBOROUGH: SIR BENJAMIN THOMPSON, COUNT RUMFORD.
Collection of Mr. Edward Cogswell Converse, Greenwich, Conn.

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which was in great part caused by a mob of excited patriots at Concord (then called Rumford), New Hampshire, at a time when the interests of Great Britain and her Colonists were still mutual, although the Revolutionary spirit was drawing near. Thompson's independent spirit led him to resent summons before the "Sons of Liberty" to clear himself from "the taint of toryism," a charge which he indignantly resisted to the end of his life. It is a matter of common knowledge that he eventually went aboard the British frigate "Scarborough," and sailed for England with despatches announcing the evacuation of Boston by the British forces. From the American point of view he had fled from his habitation secretly, accepted the protection of the enemies of the United States, and been named among those proscribed in the Alienation Act passed by the State of New Hampshire in 1778. From the English point of view, however, he had remained loyal to his king and country.

Advanced to a colonelcy in the King's American Dragoons and placed on half pay on August 8, 1783, it is in that uniform that we see Thompson in Gainsborough's portrait, which was evidently painted previous to his being knighted by George III. This is not the place to treat of his wonderful career in the service of the Elector Karl Theodor in Munich, his military reforms, his experiments on food or his various accomplishments "in many branches of polite learning." Rather are we concerned with a masterly portrait of Gainsborough's American sitter. The internal evidence of the painting shows it to be a late work by Gainsborough, and one of the great English artist's finest achievements in male portraiture. Although neither signed nor dated, it is absolutely autograph. The technical characteristics of the picture, the appearance of this famous investigator of light and heat, and the biographical data which we possess of him show that it was painted in August or September, 1783. It will be remembered that early in that year Gainsborough wrote his well-known and firmly worded letter to the Hanging Committee of the Royal Academy on the subject of placing some of his pictures "above the line along with full lengths" and vowed that he would never exhibit there again. Had he not kept his word, the present canvas, which measures about 30 inches by 25 inches, would doubtless have been included in the exhibition of 1784. As it turned out, this portrait of the scientist who championed the vibratory theory of heat, in opposition to all contemporary opinion, was not publicly

exhibited until 1908. In that year it appeared in the Franco-British Exhibition in London, being lent by Mr. Augustus Winterbottom, whose family had inherited it from a Miss Cox some sixty or seventy years previously. On that occasion it hung near the Blue Boy, Lady Bate-Dudley, and Anne, Duchess of Cumberland, four canvases by Gainsborough which are perhaps the most representative works that have since the artist's death been selected to reveal his art in any one exhibition. In its home in London ten years ago it was most often kept in a plush-lined wooden box, and not hung on a wall. One was thus able to examine every stroke of the master's brush in a portrait that is painted in a feigned oval on a rectangular canvas. Loammi Baldwin, who was Rumford's firm friend and subsequently earned fame as an engineer, records that at the age of twenty he was "of a fine manly make and figure, nearly six feet in height, of handsome features, bright blue eyes, and dark auburn hair," a description which tallies pretty accurately with our portrait of him executed some ten years later. It is not known what happened to the picture after Rumford's death in Paris in 1814, nor how it passed into the possession of Miss Cox, whose name does not appear in the voluminous correspondence of the Count or his daughter Sarah. We cannot, however, believe that the Count's second wife became the owner of it, or that she would dispose of it commercially. Anyhow, it has never appeared at public auction.

Any inquiry into other portraits of the Count would become involved and appear even contradictory, for their origin was not an æsthetic but an iconographic one. As his fame increased, publishers eagerly availed themselves of the various duplicates and variants from the hand of Moritz Kellerhoven, court-painter at Munich about 1797, and worked up "originals" which served as reproductions to illustrate his career. Dillis, J. R. Smith, Edlinger and others portrayed, but with little success, this founder of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and benefactor of Harvard University. Some have contrasted Rumford with Benjamin Franklin, while others have justly claimed him as "the friend of man and an honour to the whole human race."

"UGOLINO LORENZETTI": PART TWO • BY BERNARD BERENSON

III

TO begin with, I shall submit to the attention of fellow students the few pictures which seem to me to be by the author of the Fogg Museum Nativity; and if at first sight their identity does not seem convincing it is because color—an element so important and helpful in recognition—is absent from the reproductions. Moreover, the eye requires a certain time to perceive even the obvious. After treating this group, I shall attempt to discuss other pictures possibly but less evidently by the same author. The effort cannot be fruitless, for paintings so close to him as to be seriously claimed for him must reveal something significant about his relations to his contemporaries.

It will be convenient to put together three of these certain works because of the close connection between them. They are, first, a Polyptych in the refectory of S. Croce at Florence (No. 8); secondly, another that has disappeared from S. Agostino at S. Gimignano¹; and thirdly, a Triptych of which the center is at Fogliano and the side panels in the Siena Academy (Nos. 42, 43). I trust it may not be hard to persuade the reader that these three works are by the same hand, and after this it will be easier than if we had examined each separately, to prove that that hand was the one which painted the Fogg Museum Nativity.

The S. Croce Polyptych consists of five panels (Fig. 1), each containing under an arch slightly pointed a large, more than half-length figure, with a smaller one in the gable above and in the *predella* below. The Madonna, with her mantle tucked under her right arm, appears in the midst of four Saints among whom we easily make out the Baptist and Francis, but must leave the two gray-beards unnamed. In the Fogliano Triptych (Figs. 3, 3A, 3B), we see the Blessed Virgin, with her mantle tucked under her right arm again, while, as at S. Croce, the half-naked Holy Child, wearing, as so often, a coral charm against the Evil Eye but, as far more rarely perhaps in Siena alone, a cross as well, turns birdlike and rest-

¹ I cannot remember whether I ever saw these panels or whether they had already vanished before my time. They were photographed long ago by Lombardi of Siena (1771, 1772) as of the school of Pietro Lorenzetti and I have always classified them with the S. Croce altarpiece.

less in her arms to the right. In the side panels S. Galgano, like another Mithras, sticks his sword into a rock, and S. Ansano carries the banner, as patron of Siena. All three are more than half length and under trefoil arches with dragons in the spandrels. The now missing S. Gimignano Polyptych (Fig. 2) consisted of five panels, framed as cinquefoils, with a more than half-length figure in each and a smaller one in each gable above. The central figure was the Madonna with the fully clothed Child, holding a large crown with both hands, very heavily seated in her arms. On her right were Dominic and the Baptist, and on the left a young deacon, Laurence or Stephen, and Catherine.

Little demonstration is required to convince the student that these three works are due to the same hand.

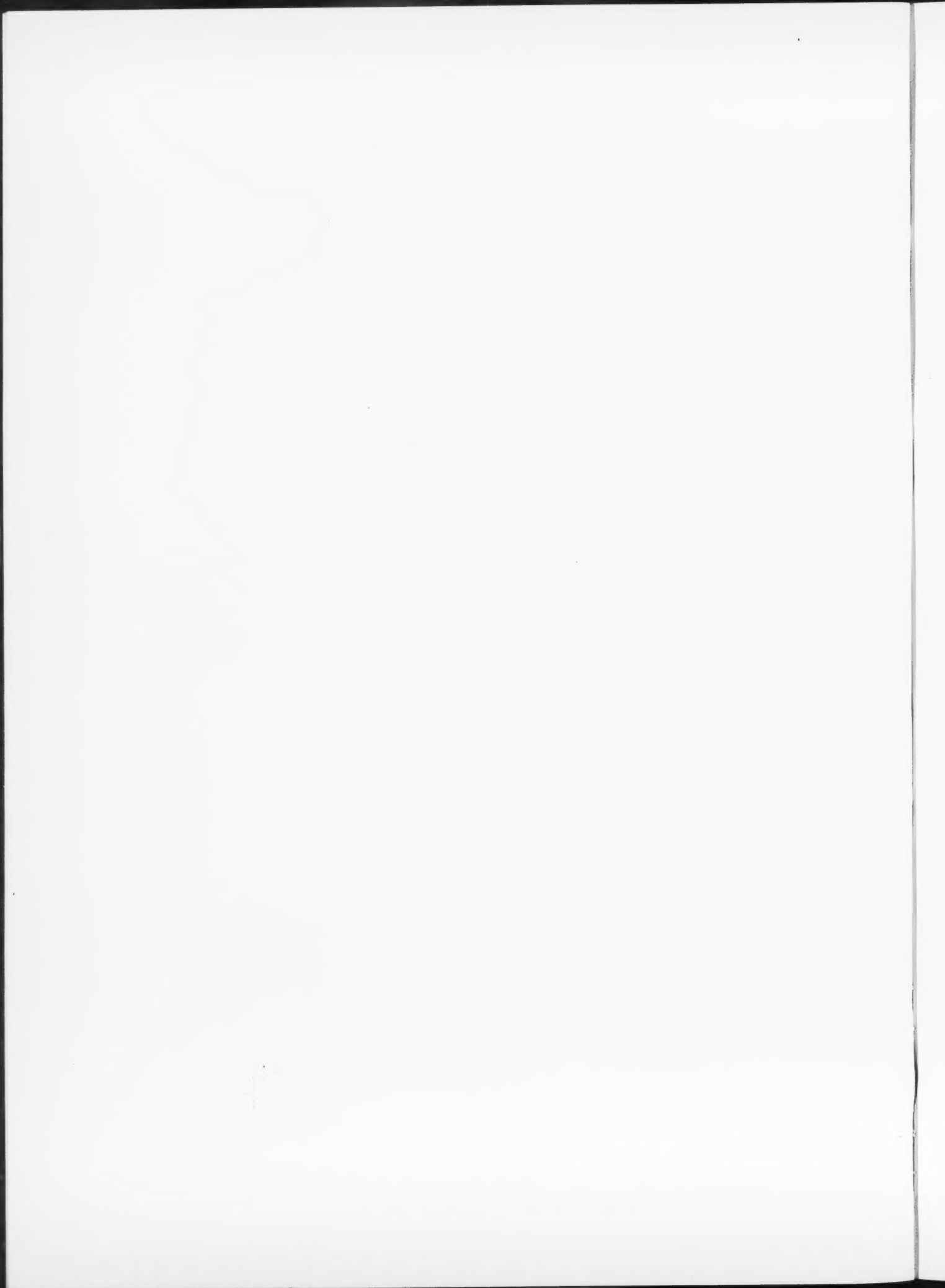
To begin with, they partake of the same mood. For designs so Ducciesque as they still are in the main, they are unusually emotional, sentimental and even vehement in expression. The action is agitated, to the extent at least that the severe restraint of the formula permits of action. Of the color I shall not speak because I do not recall what it was at S. Gimignano, and at S. Croce the surface is so spoilt that it scarcely resembles the original state. As design, however, the central panel containing the Madonna and Child in the last-mentioned work is so close to the one in the Fogliano Triptych that it would be insulting the student's intelligence to propose to prove the obvious identity of the mind and hand that created them. The S. Galgano resembles in expression, if not type, the Francis at S. Croce, and he and Ansano as well show a peculiarity in the cut of the hair which we find again on the head of the saint on our extreme left at S. Croce. This peculiarity, of which we may have to speak yet again, consists of a fan-shaped shock which, starting from toward the crown, spreads over the forehead between the waving locks that fall at the sides. Between these two altarpieces and the third, the one formerly at S. Gimignano, the resemblances are not so striking, although convincing enough: between the head of the Child in each; the face of the Madonna there and at S. Croce; between the Francis in the last-named and the Dominic at S. Gimignano; and between the deacon there, and the youthful saints in the gables and *predella* at Florence. Rather than insist on a matter so patent as that these three works are by the same hand, we shall



Fig. 1. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": MADONNA AND SAINTS. POLYPTYCH.
S. Croce, Florence.



Fig. 2. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": MADONNA AND SAINTS. POLYPTYCH.
S. Gimignano.

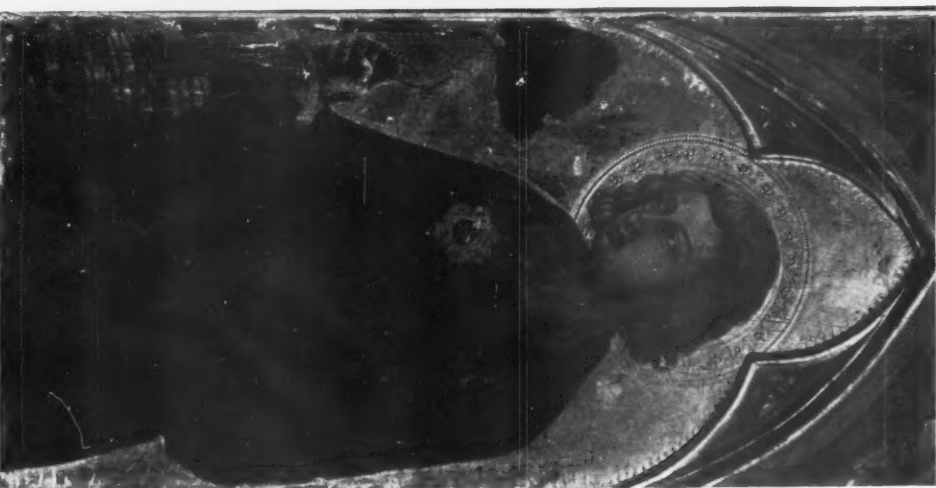




3a



Fig. 3. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": MADONNA WITH SS. GALGANO AND ANSANO. TRIPTYCH. *Fogliano.*



3b



do better to turn to the question of their affinities to the rest of Sienese painting, and of their chronological relations to each other.

The question of affinities, too, offers no difficulties. Dr. De Nicola, whose sense of Sienese art is unsurpassed, after reconstructing the Fogliano Triptych and identifying it as by the hand that painted the S. Croce Polyptych, decided that the latter was manifestly by a close follower of Ugolino.¹ The resemblances are not few, and might be even more striking if we could rediscover the Madonna that formed the centerpiece among the many panels he painted for the altar of S. Croce. The intensity, the vehemence of expression recall him; the knitted brows recall his saints; the look of the Child reminds us of his angels; the hands are singularly alike, and the way the little fingers disappear under the others, particularly in the Fogliano Triptych, is an exaggeration of a mannerism of Ugolino's. The draperies too are modelled after his, more linear than common among the followers of Duccio. And yet it is as easy to discover affinities with Pietro Lorenzetti, not only of expression such as may have come through Ugolino, who I believe must have been influenced by his greater fellow pupil, but in pattern and action as well. The Madonnas at S. Croce and Fogliano, for instance, with their pose off the frontal, their sidewise look, and their mantles tucked under their arms, occur in Sienese painting so far as I can remember only in Pietro and perhaps Ambrogio Lorenzetti. The Holy Children, too, remind us vividly of these masters, the one in the S. Gimignano altarpiece particularly.

The problem of chronology is far more complicated, but three whole polyptychs should offer ample materials for a solution.

We should at the start dispel from our minds the notion that a pupil of Ugolino's must somehow have been too old to be strongly influenced by the Lorenzetti. As I have just hinted, it is not impossible that Ugolino himself was affected by them, for although a follower no doubt of Duccio's, there is no reason for assuming that he was an old man when we lose sight of him in 1337; and indeed his masterpiece, the Madonna of S. Casciano recently assigned to him by Dr. De Nicola, seems to have been painted after 1335.

Among the many auxiliary studies required to facilitate the connoisseur's researches, one of the most important should be the study

¹ *Burlington Magazine*, XXII, p. 147.

of poses in general and of the Madonna's in particular. It probably would be discovered that it was the French, feeling the need of an art less rigid and more human than could be compassed by severe frontality, who had the genius to turn the figure on its own axis so as to bring it into relation with the other figures. That change alone made it possible for the Holy Child to smile at His Mother and for her at times wistfully and at other times joyously to smile back at Him in a way that anticipated, by two hundred years and more, the Milanese Madonnas inspired by Leonardo da Vinci. Giovanni Pisano brought the new pose and the new feeling to Tuscany, but although painting quickly adopted his eager, appealing Child, it took a generation before the Virgin began to turn her whole figure and not her head alone. To represent her standing sideways was an innovation that Tuscan painting in the Trecento did not seem greatly to favor. The Lorenzetti, inspired as nobody else by Giovanni Pisano, could not help trying it, but tried it so seldom that I cannot remember many instances.

Much rarer still is the motive of the Madonna standing sideways with her mantle tucked under the right arm. I can recall none belonging to the public except the Madonna in Ambrogio's Polyptych in the Siena Academy, and only three or four in private collections, as, for example, a full-length one in my own collection, a half-length one in Mr. Charles Loeser's, all dating, be it noted, according to careful calculation from about 1325. One is tempted to infer that the experiment, although so successful as art, did not please—the elders. But meanwhile it was imitated by our painter at S. Croce and at Fogliano, for in both works, as we remember, the Madonna is seen as if standing sideways with her mantle tucked under her right arm. Presumably a motive that did not become popular must have been copied soon after it was introduced, that is to say, soon after 1325, but as other considerations may modify this result we must now turn to them.

We remarked a while ago the fan-shaped shock of hair over the foreheads of Ansano and Galgano in the Fogliano Triptych and of the old saint on our extreme left in the S. Croce altarpiece. The arrangement of the hair is as subject to fashion as dress itself, and for the same reason; it is as easy to cut and curl and dispose as any article of apparel. This particular shock is perhaps vaguely anticipated in Duccio's *Maestas* finished in 1311, and in works by

Simone of no later date than 1320, the great Theophany, for instance, in the town hall of Siena, or the Pisan Polyptych. The closest parallels occur in Ugolino, unfortunately undated, in two small works of his in America, a Daniel in the J. G. Johnson Collection (Plate 89 of catalogue) and the head of a graybeard Saint belonging to Mr. Philip Lehman of New York. The next closest occur in Pietro Lorenzetti's signed and dated altarpiece of 1329 at S. Ansano a Dofano.¹ Here, however, the shock begins to be scallop-shaped, and is on the way to the treatment we find in Simone's frescoes at Assisi some six or more years later. As our artist was, in other respects, closely related with both Ugolino and Pietro, he no doubt followed them in this trifle as well; but as his treatment is not so advanced as we found it in a work of 1329, we may safely assume that it goes back two or three years earlier: to the time, therefore, that the pose and action brought us to, that is to say, soon after 1325.

I do not hesitate to say that a study of all the patterns, whether on stuffs or jewels or ornaments, would confirm this date, but as it would be tedious to pursue it here I shall confine myself, before drawing this part of the discussion to a close, to a matter so conspicuous and important as frames.

Frames are to pictures what clothes are to human beings, and it is probable that, in the fourteenth century at least, the framed panel was not prepared by the painter himself but ordered or purchased already made from the framer. Earlier in this article we have already referred to this in connection with works of toward 1320. Directly afterwards, the Gothic pointed frame came in and ousted the round-arched one, although a certain number of the last continued in use for a while, either because they were selling at a discount or that the older people would not change over.

The frame of the Fogliano Madonna, already of a fairly advanced type, has the peculiarity of displaying dragons as ornaments in the spandrels. The same decoration occurs in the spandrels of a Simone Madonna belonging to Mrs. J. L. Gardner of Boston, and of a variant, once upon a time at Brussels, of Segna di Bonaventura's Madonna in the Seminary at Siena. The identity of shape and decoration implies not only the probability that the frames came from the same maker but that they were done at about the same time.

¹ While on the S. Ansano a Dofano altarpiece, it should be noted how much the Child there resembles the one at Fogliano.

Now the chronological arrangement of Simone's works obliges us to date the Gardner Madonna not more than a few years after the Pisa Polyptych of 1320, which brings us to about 1325, and a similar process of research will date the Segnesque Madonna no later.

We thus may venture to place the Fogliano Triptych not long after 1325, and it follows easily that the S. Croce Polyptych is somewhat earlier. Its panels are not cusped and not so pointed; and, despite the singular likenesses between the two Madonnas, the general character of the other figures is much more Ducciesque and closer to Ugolino in the latter than in the former work. As for the third of this group, the S. Gimignano Altarpiece, it is certainly later than either of the others. Its panels approach the cinquefoil rather than the trefoil in the ornamentation of the pointed arches, and I doubt whether such shapes occurred before 1325, while the types approach more closely to the Lorenzetti, and to the Lorenzetti of about 1330 or later. It will suffice here to mention the singular resemblance of the Child with the Children of eager darting look in such Madonnas by the Lorenzetti of about that period as Pietro's at Grosseto (Fig. 4) and Ambrogio's in the Siena Academy (No. 65) and at Roccalbenga¹ (Fig. 5).

It follows from the discussion just completed that the S. Croce, Fogliano, and S. Gimignano series of panels are all by the same hand, that they were painted in the order named within the years 1324-31 or so, and that their author must have begun as a pupil of Ugolino and ended as a follower of the Lorenzetti. Let us now see whether to him is due the Fogg Nativity as well. If it is, we shall have put together four considerable works that imply the existence of a hitherto unidentified artist; while the difference between them, with the permissible insertion of discreet intervals of time, will afford glimpses of a career in its progress, and thus enable us to assemble the nucleus of an artistic personality. Other works which we may agglomerate to this nucleus will enlarge this personality and necessarily modify our sense of its momentum and direction, but in essence it should remain, like character in general, true enough to itself to be recognizable in all its varying phases.

After what we have learned in our examination of the four

¹ Reproduced here chiefly because of its interest as an entirely unknown picture by this great master.

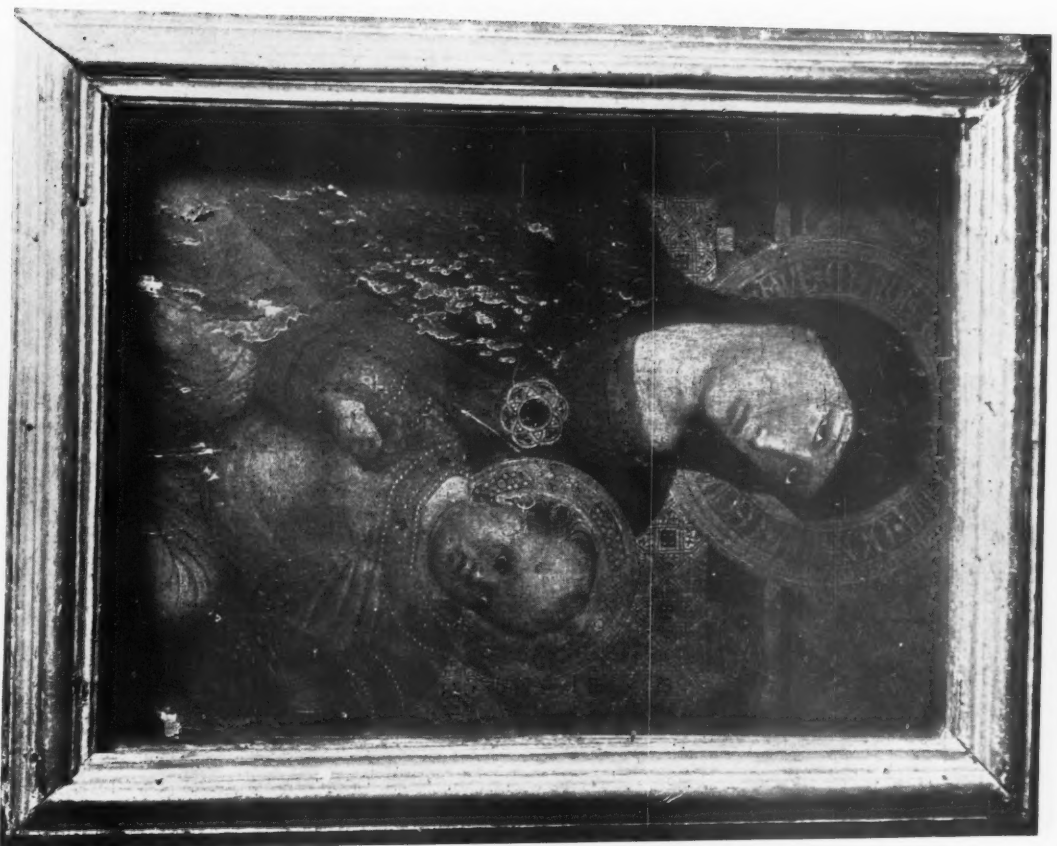


Fig. 4. PIETRO LORENZETTI: MADONNA.
Grosseto.



Fig. 5. AMBROGIO LORENZETTI: MADONNA.
Roccapietra.



works in question, namely the three series of panels and the Nativity, we shall not find it hard to persuade ourselves that all are by the same hand. For proofs we naturally shall look first at the work closest in date to the last mentioned, and as, apart from considerations of authorship, we have concluded that the Fogg picture must have been designed somewhere about 1335, and the S. Gimignano Polyptych as late perhaps as 1331, it is to this polyptych that we shall turn first. We find that the Madonnas have faces which resemble each other singularly, the heads of the Children likewise, and that the startled, eager, dramatic shepherd in the one is of the closest kin to the Dominic and Baptist in the other. In the droop even more than in the shape of the Blessed Virgin's hands in each we observe a similar likeness, and the mussel-like ear of the shepherd is all but identical with Dominic's. Looking at the S. Croce Polyptych, we discover that the saint seen on our extreme left, in type, features, peculiarities of hair-dressing (the fan-shaped shock over the forehead), folds of drapery and hand, is almost a line for line study for the Joseph in the Nativity. In the Fogliano Triptych what strikes us chiefly is the same color scheme of golden brown that we have in the Fogg picture.

It may be assumed that the trained student who has had the patience and humility to follow the evidence will find it more than adequate to the purpose of proving that the last-named work, the Nativity, is due to the mind and hand responsible for the other works. Their relations to each other have already been established, and we now may conclude without rashness that this hand, first guided by Ugolino, as we see in the S. Croce Polyptych, leaned more and more toward the Lorenzetti, as we note progressively in the three other works. If any doubt lingers in our minds it will be dispelled by the examination of two or three paintings more that are certainly by the same hand, besides one or two less certain ones that claim attention before we can sum up our knowledge and give our present impression of the author of the Cambridge Nativity.

Two of the pictures that seem to me to be beyond question by our author represent the same subject, the Crucifixion. One is an upright panel in my collection¹ and the other is an oblong panel,

¹ The dealer of whom I bought it years ago said that it came from Lugano, where there remained a companion to it.

probably part of a *predella*, in the Louvre. In the upright one (Fig. 6) the treatment remains Ducciesque, with episodes culled, as it were, from the sublime Crucifixion in the *Maestas*. Our master betrays himself first in the warmth, brilliance and radiance of the color, surpassing in this respect no doubt only because of its better preservation, all his other works, and then in the types, in the astonished expression, in the prominence given to the whites of the eyes, and in the way the draperies have of stretching for no reason into angularity or flatness. It is a design he must have executed between the S. Croce Polyptych and the Fogliano Triptych.¹ The oblong Crucifixion in the Louvre (No. 1665) is more original in conception (Fig. 7). Its division into distinct groups, its horsemen with their carefully studied cuirasses, mail and helmets, its touch, as it were, of deliberate Byzantinism, its curious corroded coloring, used to suggest to me an archaizing painter, and make me wonder whether he might not be Giovanni di Paolo. It is clear now that it was painted by the author of the Fogg Nativity, in a moment not long after the S. Gimignano Polyptych. Look carefully at the types, the draperies, the knitted brows, the eyes, the ears, and you will end by agreeing. The Christ on the cross is, by the way, nearly identical with the Eternal in the Nativity.

If these two panels just described hover between Duccio and Pietro Lorenzetti, the work that we turn to next is so close to the last-named master that when I first saw it I supposed it to be by him. At that time it belonged to Mr. C. B. Perkins, the heir of the famous writer on Tuscan sculpture, C. C. Perkins of Boston, but it now forms part of Mrs. Gardner's collection (Fig. 9). Its shape is almost unique at Siena, for it is a small arched Tabernacle and decorated, like many a wayside shrine all over Italy, with paintings on the back as well as in the embrasure. We see the Blessed Virgin seated sideways on a wide shallow throne, while the Child in her arms plays with a bird, fiercely and cruelly—in the character given Him in the Gospels of the Infancy—while to right and left and above are ranged Cherubim and Angels, Peter and Paul, Catherine and the Magdalen, and in the embrasure the Baptist and Evangelist, Nicholas, and Anthony Abbot.

¹ Among the Ducciesque Crucifixions two stand very close to this one, the one possibly by our author himself, known to me in reproduction only, belonging to Prince A. Gagarine (see *Les Anciennes Ecoles de Peinture dans les Palais et Collections privées russes*, Bruxelles, Van Oest, 1910), and the other in the gallery of the New York Historical Association (No. 189), very likely by an imitator of our master.

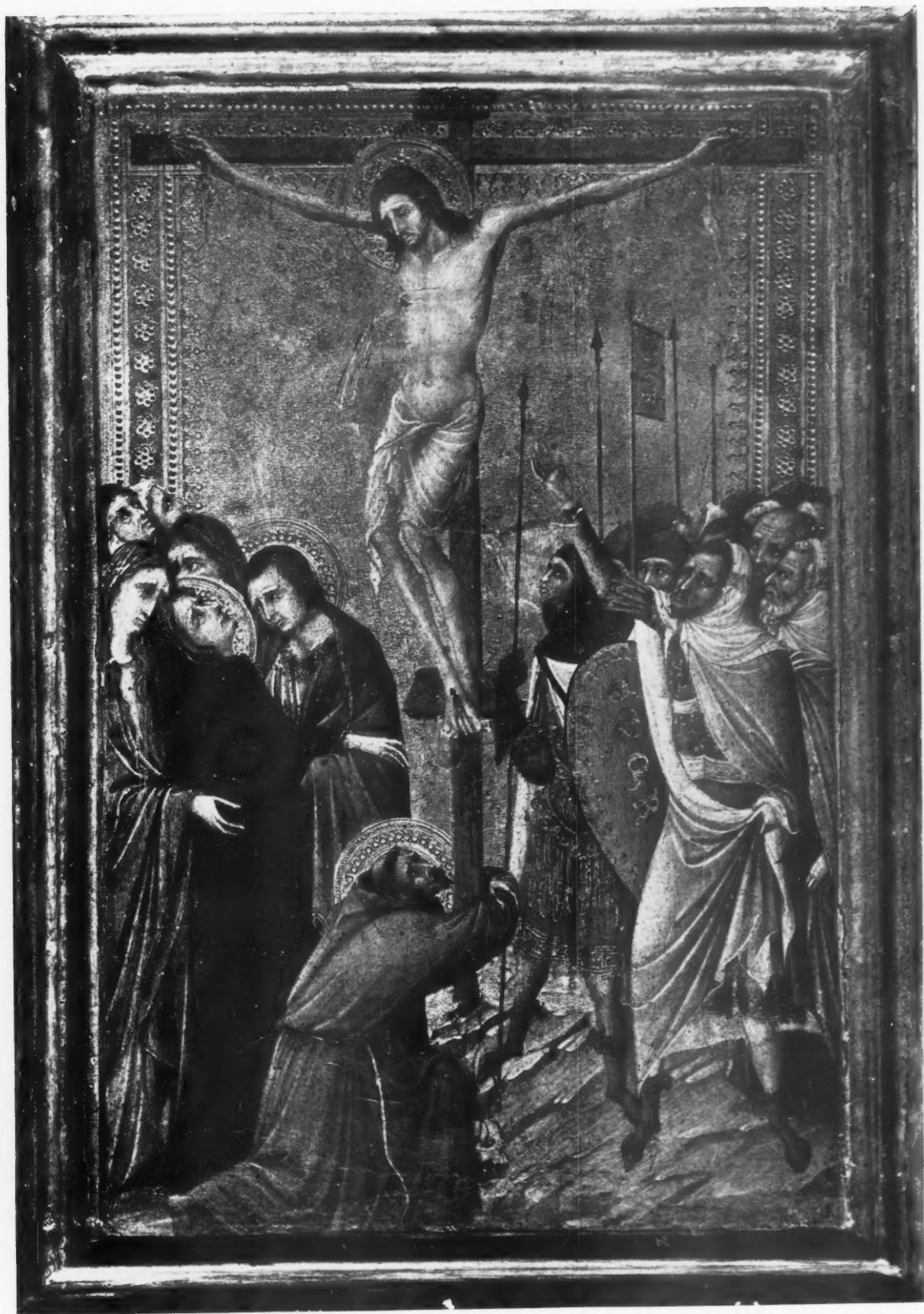


Fig. 6. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": CRUCIFIXION.
Collection of Mr. Bernard Berenson, Settignano.

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Not only is this portable shrine close to Pietro Lorenzetti, but close to him at a definite moment, represented by three Madonnas which were painted, as I have good reason to believe, between about 1330 and 1335. One of these, at Grosseto (Fig. 4), we have mentioned already because of the striking resemblance between the Child there and the Infant in the S. Gimignano Polyptych. More striking still is the resemblance to the Child in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle, although nearest of all to the fierceness of the latter Child's action is the one in the second of these Madonnas, a panel in S. Pietro Ovile at Siena. The third is in the Siena Academy (No. 80). All three Virgins sit on elaborately draped thrones, and have so much in common with the types and mannerisms of our painter that it took me no slight effort to distinguish between them and his real works. The resemblance, to take but one instance, between the Madonna and Child in the Siena Academy and those in the S. Gimignano altarpiece seems created for the confusion of connoisseurs.

And yet the author of the Fogg Nativity betrays himself in many ways. In the first place, the Tabernacle has the general character that by this time we have learned to recognize at sight, the "all-overishness" that the great psychologist William James used to speak of, which determines our decisions more than all the detailed analysis that can be brought up in proof. Condescending, nevertheless, to facts, we may point to the types of the old men glowing with prophetic passion, to the astonished looks, and prominent whites of the eyes, to the same shape of hands and the same kind of folds which have all become familiar to us as we studied our artist's other works. An expression so like to that of the shepherd in the Fogg Nativity as the Baptist's in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle, a Paul in the last-named so like the one in the gable above the Baptist at S. Croce, old saints so like the ones there and here, a cast of drapery so identical as Peter's in our Tabernacle and the Evangelist's in the Louvre Crucifixion, a hand so like our Madonna's and that of Our Lady at S. Gimignano or the S. Ansano in the Fogliano Triptych, bear strong corroborating witness to the conclusion that all are due to the same brain and habits. Chronologically, too, it fits perfectly into the canon. We have seen that in so far as it depends upon Lorenzetti's paintings, which our artist was imitating just then, these dated from after 1330, and that its next of kin among works by the

same hand was the S. Gimignano Polyptych, which we have placed about 1331. In the canon, therefore, it finds room after the last-named achievement and before the Fogg Nativity, which, as we shall recall, we decided to date about 1335.

To these works that I think I am justified in ascribing to the same artist I shall now add two more. The first, consisting of four panels in the Pisa Gallery with a full-length figure in each (Fig. 8), the stray remains of some scattered polyptych, I should accept as his without hesitation if I did not find them a trifle summary and coarse in execution. The fault may be due to a certain carelessness, or because their position on the polyptych demanded a larger treatment, or merely to the present darkened and corroded condition of the surface, or to all these causes in combination. I cannot admit, however, that their design at least was due to anyone else, and much if not all of the execution. The types are his, with the crimply hair, and whites of the eyes showing so prominently. The hands are his, Lucy's, for instance, like S. Ansano's in the Fogliano Triptych, and Catherine's like those in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle: the draperies are his, too, as is so manifest in the Bartholomew, with whom we need only parallel the Baptist in the Louvre Crucifixion and the Peter in the Tabernacle. Finally, the Catherine is all but identical with the same saint in the S. Gimignano Polyptych.

Perhaps it is only the timidity of age that makes me hesitate at all in annexing to our group the pair of shutters with ten rather fluently sketched and charmingly colored little figures in the J. G. Johnson Collection (Fig. 10). There scarcely can exist a more serious reason for reluctance to accept them, for not only are they worthy of the others by our artist but most intimately related to them. The figure of Bartholomew, for instance, is all but the same saint as at Pisa, and Lucy all but identical with the one there again, the young Deacon and Gabriel are close to those in the S. Gimignano Polyptych, and the Andrew resembles the old Evangelist in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle. Finally, the same Andrew's folds, and those of Bartholomew and Gabriel as well, have all the peculiarities of misplaced flatness and tightness that we have seen so frequently in the other works by the author of the Fogg Nativity. I venture to conclude that there is small excuse for doubting that these little figures, too, must be by him. Again, we are encouraged by the facility wherewith one may insert them in the canon. They find their



Fig. 7. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": CRUCIFIXION.
Louvre, Paris.



Fig. 8. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": FOUR SAINTS.
Pisa.

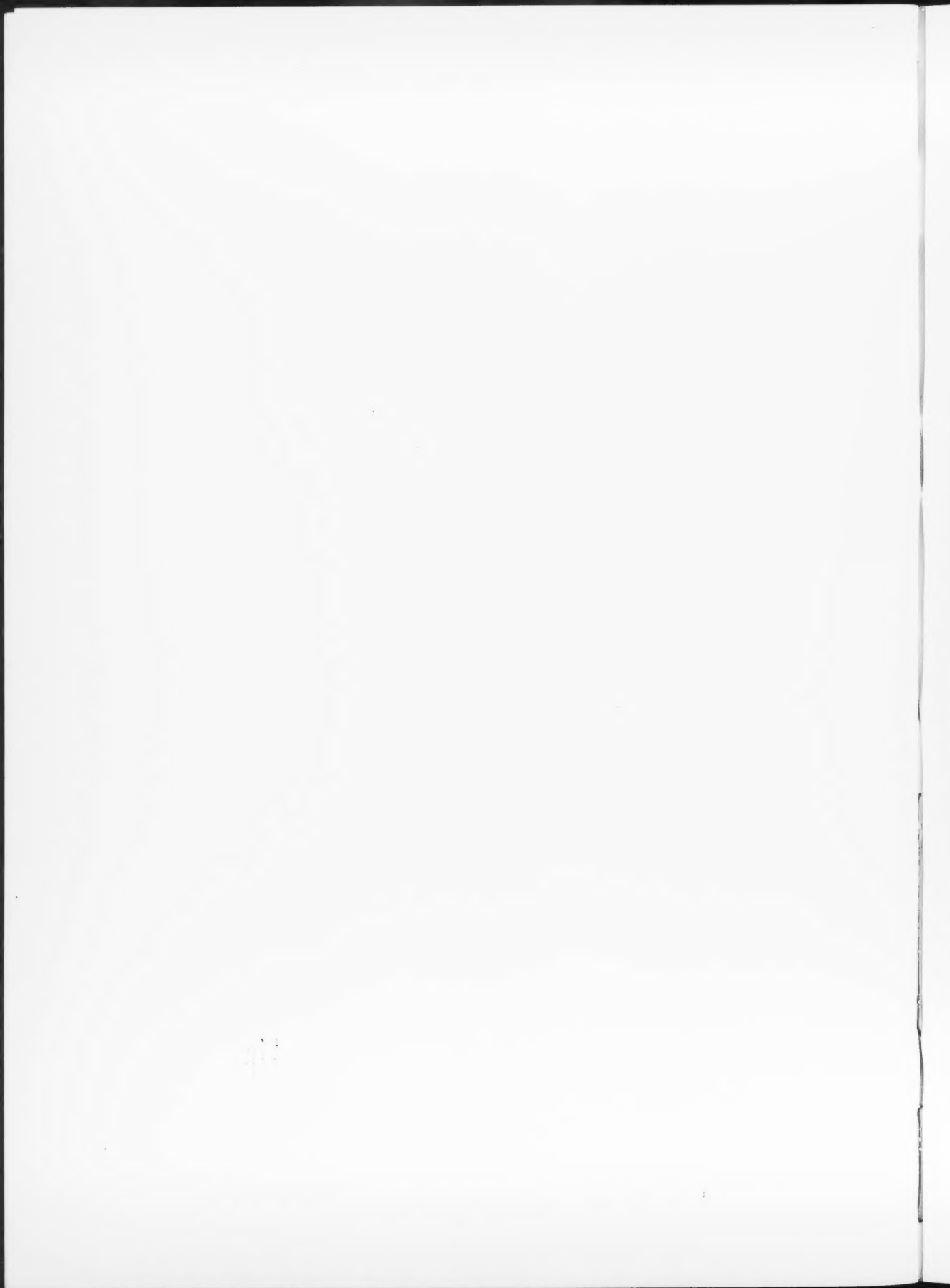




Fig. 9. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": MADONNA AND SAINTS. TABERNACLE.
Collection of Mrs. John Lowell Gardner, Boston.



natural place between the Pisa figures and the Nativity, between 1331 or so and 1335, let us say.¹

IV

More works by the same hand will appear in time, as soon perhaps as other students can bring their contributions to the subject. Meanwhile we have enough already, stretching, as we have seen, over a period of ten years, to form the nucleus, we may even go so far as to say the torso, of an artistic personality.

It is an agreeable and attractive one. There is something at once fresh and youthful, passionate and ardent in his figures, emotion in a word. If he never abandons himself to such tortured agonies of almost grotesque grief as the Lorenzetti sometimes exhibit (Pietro, for instance, at Assisi), he attains a certain airiness, a gayety almost, that radiates conspicuously from his S. Croce and Fogliano and Johnson panels. And yet he is scarcely the inferior of these great masters in his gifts of eloquence and dramatic arrangement, as we have seen in his Crucifixions, the Louvre one particularly, and in the Nativity. And much as he leans on them, he is no slavish imitator. On the contrary, in the last-named panel, his most considerable achievement, he displays as much independence of them as kinship with them. The more I meditate on this, his maturest work, the more do I become aware therein of a serenity, a ponderation of thought, and a command of artistic resources which give its creator a distinct and honorable place among his Sienese contemporaries. We shall recall wondering what could have inspired a composition in many respects so singular. We need no longer hesitate to conclude that, no matter what theologian or poet set his task for him, the painter who could make a composition so original was no ordinary artist. It is not likely that among his fellows we shall end by putting him on a level with Simone or the Lorenzetti, but he may turn out ultimately to have, when all is considered, the merit

¹ As I wrote of these shutters some seven years ago without foreseeing the present study, it may be of some interest to read what I said then:

"These are among the most spirited, brilliant and attractive creations of the Sienese School. One is at a loss as to their exact authorship. They do not perfectly coincide with any unquestioned work of Pietro's, being more radiantly clear and golden in color and of a blither spirit. Nevertheless they are too close to him in every way to be by anyone but a very near follower, and among these there is none who attains to a quality so worthy of the master himself. It is thus better to assume that they are by him until more precise acquaintance with Sienese art proves or disproves the attribution."

See my catalogue of the Italian Masters in the J. G. Johnson Collection, p. 35.

and rank of a Lippo Memmi. If he scarcely attains this artist's almost uniform loveliness of features and daintiness of workmanship, he is more poignant, more absorbing, more personal. As a colorist also he is distinctly apart. In his better preserved panels the gamut reminds me at times of the East¹ with its unhackneyed transitions and unexpected intensities. He almost harks back to the most wonderful of all Italian Medieval masters of tones and pigment and technique, the unknown Sienese of a generation or two before Duccio who painted an altarpiece to the glory of the Baptist now in the Siena Academy (No. 14). And withal he seems to have had an enterprising and experimental mind, as we may infer from the fact that each of his remaining works is distinct from the others.

This last quality may, however, be accounted for in yet another and not less probable way if we suppose that these works represent not a whole career, but only the initial, necessarily tentative part of one. As we have seen, it seems to start out toward 1327 with the S. Croce Polyptych and to end some ten or more years later with the Fogg Nativity, for none of these paintings—and they are the only ones known at present—is very likely to be of later date. What became of him then, at the height of his maturity? If facts warranted, it would be delightful to establish that we have here the youth of an artist hitherto known to us only in full career. But at first appearance this pupil of Ugolino is already under the influence of Pietro Lorenzetti, and in each of the several works that we have examined this dependence increases, until finally, as in Mrs. Gardner's Tabernacle and the J. G. Johnson panels, he is scarcely to be distinguished from his leader. True, the Nativity, his latest achievement, is more severed, more emancipated from the Lorenzetti, as if its author were suddenly reaching out to a serener and more severely plastic art; but what career known to us only in its maturity could it possibly have preceded?

I can think of two only that could come under consideration, Barna's, and Lippo Vanni's.

Now Barna, "the most tragic minded" of Sienese as he has been called, is an artist whom it is easy enough to estimate but very difficult to place, for the traditions with regard to him are confusing, and documents concerning him offer no security. We thus are left

¹ In the Louvre Crucifixion one of the horsemen wears Persian headgear. As is manifest in Pietro Lorenzetti's frescoes at S. Francesco in Siena, at about this time the arts and crafts of the contemporary Orient were beginning to invade Italy.

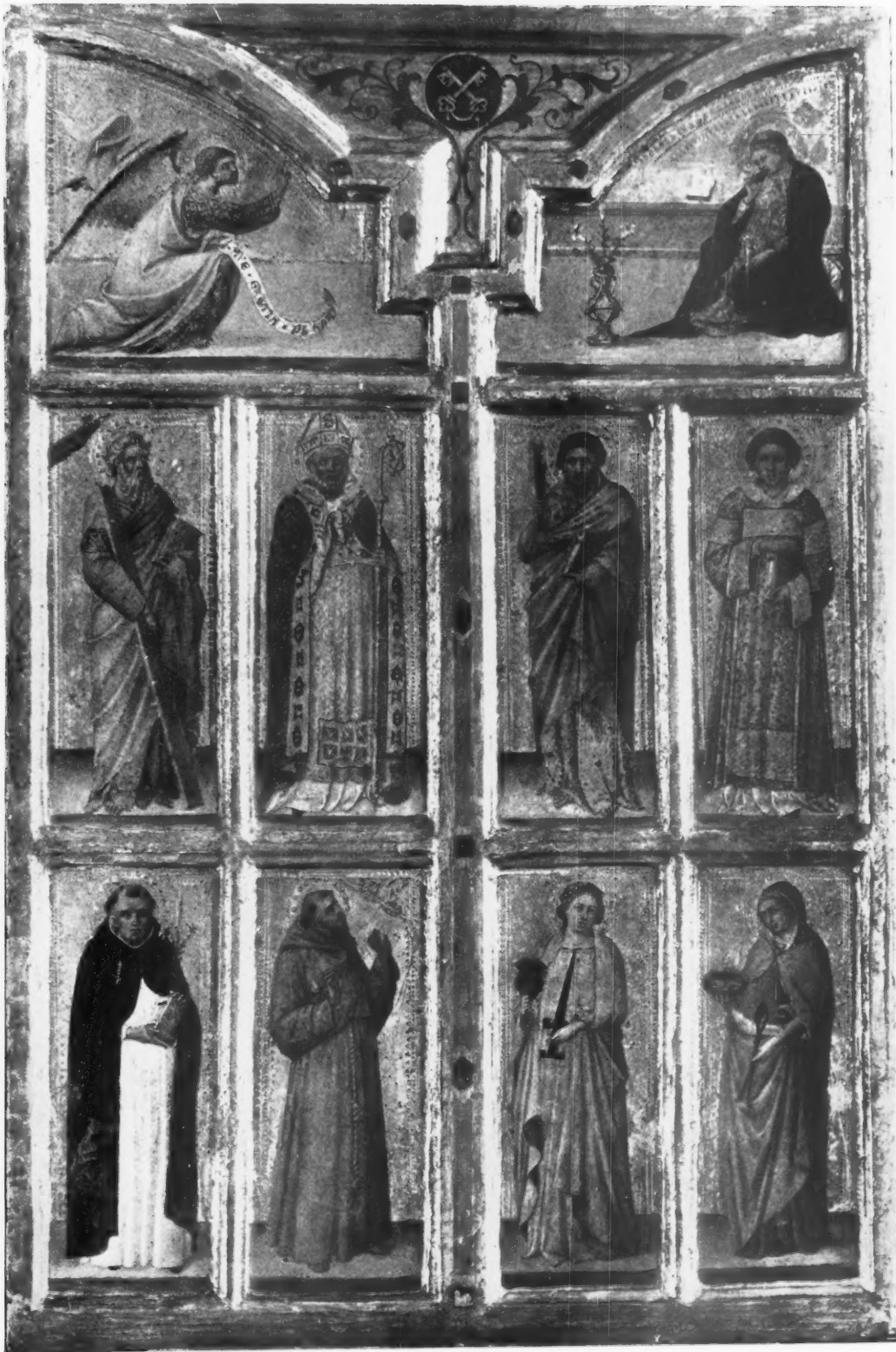


Fig. 10. "UGOLINO LORENZETTI": ANNUNCIATION AND SAINTS.
Collection of the late John G. Johnson, Philadelphia.

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to our own resources, which consist of the inferences we may draw from the frescoes at S. Gimignano. These reveal an artist who no doubt owed not a little to the passion and intensity of the Lorenzetti, but who yet remained faithful to the types, coloring and even compositions of Simone and his school. And as he seems, in turn, to have been the chief inspiration of Bartolo di Fredi and Andrea Vanni, we can perhaps conclude that his brief flowering season occurred not long after but scarcely before 1350. Not only do I fail to discover in the works by our painter, which as we remember are of overwhelmingly Lorenzettish character, anything in their style, their types, or their coloring compelling us to regard them as a preparation for the frescoes at S. Gimignano, but their date excludes the likelihood; for the author of the Fogg Nativity had a career of at least ten years behind him when he painted that panel about 1335; and fifteen years later, the earliest probable date of Barna's designs, he would have been a man toward fifty, and not the young man traditionally credited with that great achievement. And besides, what became of him in the intervening years? It would be a singular, I may add an almost unparalleled accident that swept away every trace of the activity of those earlier middle years usually so productive.

If Barna is excluded, despite the uncertainty surrounding his place in Sienese art, we shall find it no harder to eliminate Lippo Vanni. Dr. De Nicola's researches have given definite substance to this artist, hitherto a mere name, and to the hearsay reputation hitherto enjoyed by him we may now add several works that we can know and appreciate at first hand. It turns out that he must have been a painter of about the measure of the author of the Fogg Nativity. They even have one or two points of contact. Thus, the Francis in Lippo's fresco at S. Francesco of Siena is so like the one in our author's panels of the Johnson Collection that they doubtless must have a common origin in some figure by one of the Lorenzetti; and in the same way and for a similar reason, the dead Christ under the S. Croce Madonna is like the one under Lippo's Triptych at SS. Sisto e Domenico in Rome. Lippo's dates, too, which, unlike Barna's, are well known, would fit better with our author's. Nevertheless, two strong objections oppose our linking together the two groups of works into one career. In the first place, although Lippo

was active at least as early as 1344, it is most improbable that he had already had, as would be the case with our painter, a career of twenty years behind him. There would arise the question what became of him in the decade that intervened between the execution of the Fogg Nativity and the miniatures of 1345 assigned to him by Dr. De Nicola. More negative still are the conclusions drawn from the fact that while Lippo Vanni, like all his contemporaries, owed a great deal to the Lorenzetti, he even more than Barna follows the stream of Simone, and is at times (as in a Madonna once at a Roman dealer's, and in the St. Paul in the Bartolini-Salimbeni-Vivai Collection at Florence) scarcely to be distinguished from Lippo Memmi.

It is hardly necessary to add that Luca di Tomè and Jacopo di Mimo cannot be thought of in this connection, although I mention them to say that I have considered and refused their claims. The truth seems to be that the career which we have studied ended with the Fogg Nativity. To painters, as to other mortals, death comes sometimes sooner than later, and in all probability it snatched ours away in his prime. He did not perish utterly. In Bartolo di Fredi's and Taddeo di Bartolo's angels we seem to feel a reminiscence of his art.

By what name shall we call him? My preference goes toward a nomenclature which has the advantage of being at the same time descriptive, mnemonic, and alive, in place of the abstract shadows of abstractions, evoking nothing real, affected by that most German of centuries, the nineteenth, with its "Masters of the Half Figures," "Masters of the Pink Sash," "Masters of the Faces with Two Eyes," or Masters of many-linked place names. Our author was, as we have seen, an artist who started as the pupil of Ugolino and ended as the follower of Lorenzetti. I propose, therefore, to designate him, until archives one day yield up the secret of how his contemporaries called him, by the names of his two teachers, "Ugolino Lorenzetti." But if that name irritates those who did not like my "Amico di Sandro" and "Alunno di Domenico," they are free to speak of him as the "Master of the Fogg Art Museum Harvard University Cambridge Massachusetts United States of America Nativity." I shall carry my patience so far as to allow them to put hyphens between these words and even to run them all into one.

TWO WORKS OF VENETIAN SCULPTURE • BY
ALLAN MARQUAND

TWO works quite different in character, and yet products of the Venetian school of sculpture of the same period, have found a resting place in America.

The first of these is a statue of S. Sebastiano (Fig. 1) from the Davanzati Palace Collection, belonging to Mr. George Grey Barnard and exhibited in his gallery of mediæval art. It is carved from wood, is 5 feet 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height, and is naturalistically painted even to the streaks of dark blood which gush out from the holes made by the arrows. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, when the academic study of anatomy was finding its way into the field of art, S. Sebastiano was a favorite subject in the realistic schools of sculpture and painting. We readily recall the marble statues of this martyr saint by Antonio Rossellino, Benedetto da Maiano, and Civitale, and those in terra-cotta by Andrea and Giovanni della Robbia. Even wooden statues of S. Sebastiano are not unknown. Attilio Rossi published one in *Les Arts*, No. 50 (1906), p. 20, attributed to Silvestro d'Aquila. Umberto Gnoli published another from Sangemini near Terni, in *L'Arte Umbra alla Mostra di Perugia*, p. 74. Still another of similar type is said to be in the church of S. Sebastiano at Cascia, and a fourth of somewhat different character in S. Francesco in Stroncone, near Terni. Adolf Gottschewski has attributed the Sangemini statue to Antonio Rizzo, and considers it a type of the work which that artist accomplished after his obligatory departure from Venice in 1498. I find it most difficult to believe that Antonio Rizzo, after having produced masterpieces in Venice, could have fallen suddenly into the production of such rustic creations as these wooden statues in Umbria.

The statue in the Barnard Collection, however, falls naturally into line with the works of Antonio Rizzo and his associates in Venice, at the period when he had lost sight of his Veronese associations and had begun to feel the freedom and grace of the artistic products of Venice. No Italian painter of the fifteenth century—not Pollaiuolo, nor Perugino, nor Liberale, nor Antonello da Messina, nor even Giovanni Bellini himself—expressed more adequately the martyr's pathetic but calm faith seen in the face of this wooden statue (*cf.* Detlev von Hadeln, *Die wichtigsten Darstellungs-*

formen des H. Sebastian in der italienischen Malerei bis zur Ausgang des Quattrocento. Strassburg, 1906). It is this expression which elevates this S. Sebastiano above the many inane representations of him with which we are all familiar. Nor was the sculptor unmindful of anatomy. His knowledge of the bones, muscles, and veins in the human body is evident though less obtrusive than in the Sangemini statue.

I am inclined to think that the statue was produced about 1483 when Antonio Rizzo began the execution of the tomb of Giovanni Emo for S. Maria dei Servi. The tomb is now destroyed, but the statue of Emo is preserved in the Museum at Vicenza and the two charming shield-bearers passed into the Arconati Visconti Collection and thence into the Louvre. These shield-bearers are published by Paoletti (*L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, p. 150), by J. J. Marquet de Vasselot (*Les Arts*, No. 19, 1903, pp. 24-26), and less satisfactorily by Venturi (*Storia dell'arte italiana*, VI, pp. 1065-1066). In general proportions and treatment the Barnard S. Sebastiano and these shield-bearers are enough alike to be attributed to the same atelier, if not to the same hand. Paoletti classes the latter for elegance and beauty of form and excellence of execution with the most interesting works of the Venetian Renaissance and attributes them to Antonio Rizzo, whereas Venturi considers them graceful enough to be assigned to the atelier of Pietro Lombardo. Between the works of these two masters there is no wide gulf of artistic quality. I am inclined, however, to agree with Paoletti in attributing them to Antonio Rizzo.

To the same period and school belongs the Venetian balcony or loggia screen (Fig. 2) now on my lawn at Princeton. It was purchased at the sale of the effects of Mr. Henry W. Poor a few years ago and was brought from Italy by the late Mr. Stanford White. It measures 12 feet $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length and 3 feet $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches in height. It is constructed from a hard, white limestone, which has weathered fairly well. At first sight it looks as if it might have been a loggia screen set between two walls and beneath an arch. But a loggia of this width unsupported by columns is most improbable; and a loggia supported by columns like that of the Palazzo Ducale would show a repetition of rails with the same number of colonnettes. There is no occasion for a composition of six and four

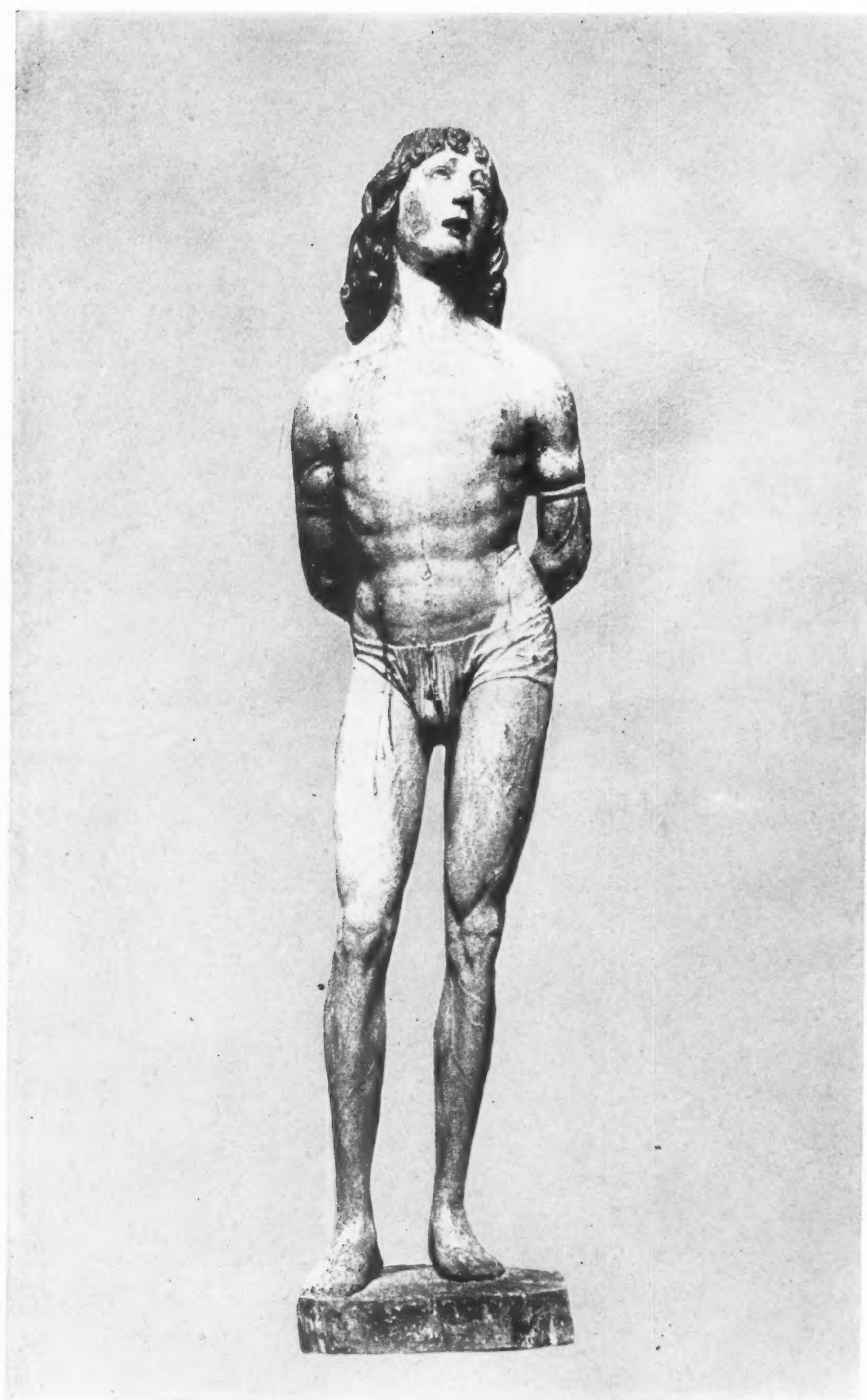


Fig. 1. ANTONIO RIZZO: S. SEBASTIAN.
Collection of Mr. George Grey Barnard, New York.



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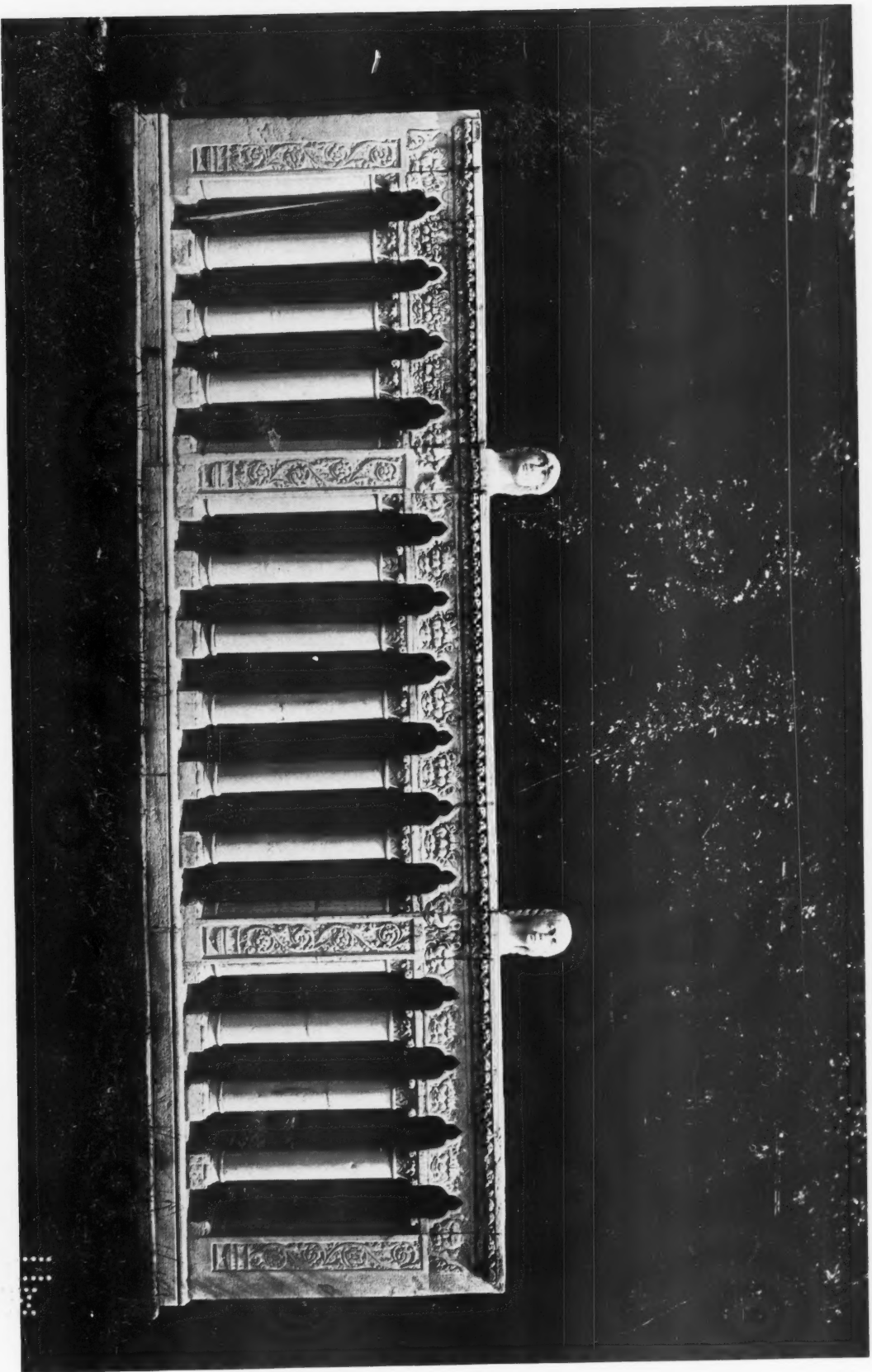
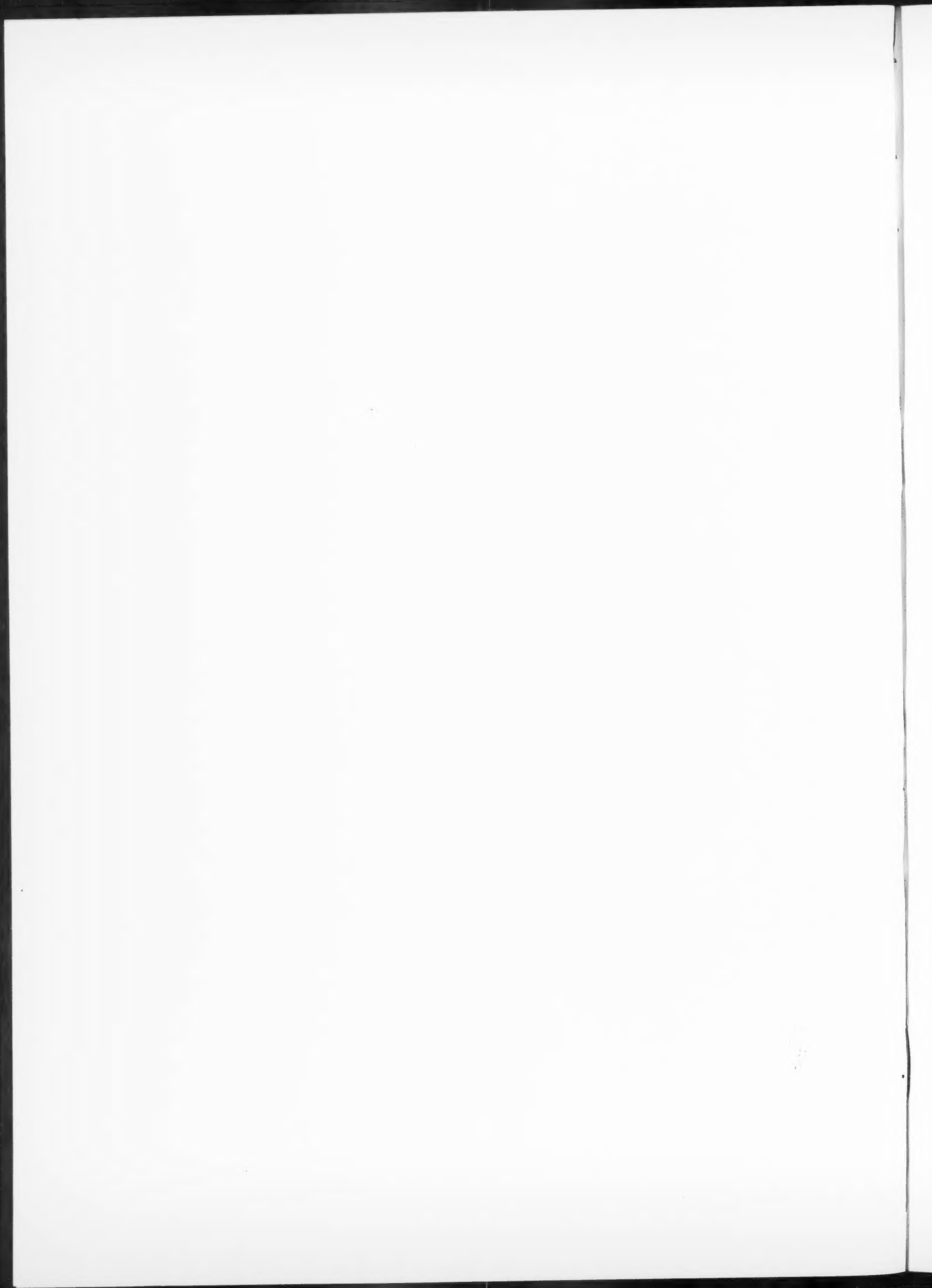


Fig. 2. VENETIAN BALCONY OR LOGGIA SCREEN. LIMESTONE.
Property of Prof. Allan Marquand, Princeton.



openings as shown in this case. The heads which crown the railing find their analogues in balconies, not in loggia rails. These heads, it should be noticed, are not mere busts set upon the cornice of the railing; they are veritable herms, which broaden at the impost of the arches and include in the same block the engaged colonnettes below.

A Venetian balcony analogous to ours is that on the façade of the Palazzo Bragadin. Mothes, in his *Baukunst und Bildhauerei Venedigs*, I, p. 211, speaks of it as "einer der schönsten die in Venedig existiren," and Paoletti, in his *L'architettura e la scultura del Rinascimento in Venezia*, I, p. 34, as "uno dei migliori poggiuoli del periodo di transizione." Molmenti, in his *Storia di Venezia*, I, p. 371, also published an illustration of it. Like ours, it has cusped or Arabic arches supported by colonnettes with early Gothic capitals, plain shafts, and Attic or Corinthian bases with corner leaves. It is subdivided into four sections, separated by rectangular piers with engaged colonnettes, each section containing four colonnettes.

The Bragadin balcony shows cherub heads in the spandrels between the arches; ours, lion masks interestingly conventionalized. The Gothic leaf molding in the cornice gives to our balcony rail superior charm, as does also the paneling of the piers decorated with vines issuing from graceful vases. The Bragadin balcony has three bearded heads projecting above the rail, but two of these are evidently modern repetitions. At the angles are Venetian lions set diagonally. This was a common Venetian device. The two heads that mark the central portion of the Princeton balcony may be viewed as Gothic modes of decoration, especially of that type of Gothic which spread from Lombardy throughout the north of Italy. Pinnacles were surmounted with statues, lunettes were often overcrowded with statuettes or busts. The piers which marked the divisions of balcony rails were treated as pinnacles and capped either with knobs or, as in this case, with human heads. The latter method enlivened the balcony and decorated it without necessarily implying that the heads might represent the owners of the house. And yet the latter implication is not to be cast aside. The two heads certainly suggest the owner and his wife. The man wears a close-fitting helmet, not unlike that of a warrior carved by Antonio Rizzo on

the Arco Foscari, and the woman's head is not far removed in type from that of the Eve on the same building. The two heads evidently belong to the same school of art as that represented by the two shield-bearers from the Emo monument and thus may be classed with the S. Sebastiano in the Barnard Collection.

Before restoring to our imagination the original appearance of the balcony we should carefully distinguish the ancient from the modern portions of the balustrade. The plinth with its plain roundel molding is modern. It probably replaced a Gothic molding decorated with foliage. The two terminal piers are modern, though possibly copies of the piers by means of which the balcony was attached to the wall of the house. The first section to the left, showing three colonnettes and four openings, is ancient and may have constituted one of the short sides of the balcony, but its decorative details indicate that it did not originally adjoin the pier with the helmeted head. The central section has two modern colonnettes and a capital partially restored. To the right of this the block with the lion masks and leaf cornice, as well as the terminal pier, is modern. Only the three colonnettes are ancient. Traces of the mason marks on the rear also indicate that the present was not the original arrangement of the balustrade. It should be restored as a balcony with a front of three, or perhaps four, subdivisions each with six openings, and lateral colonnades each with four openings. The piers at the angles are now lost, so that we cannot determine exactly how the ornamentation was returned about the corners, nor whether or not they were surmounted by little lions set diagonally. The entire balcony undoubtedly rested on consoles which would also have been richly decorated.

A PAINTING BY ERASMUS • BY MAURICE W. BROCKWELL

FINALITY in the minutiae of art-history will never be reached. Still, it is rarely that we come upon an illustrious historical character who is known to the archivist to have painted pictures, although there exists no picture that can be recognized as indisputably his. We have long possessed records of the great Dutch humanist, Erasmus, that showed his early activity as a painter of religious works. But it is only to-day that we can actually locate a picture from his hand. This sole surviving painting by him, his ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, is without doubt the triptych which we now reproduce. On wood, measuring in the center panel 45 inches by 33 inches, it is now in the collection of Mr. E. A. Faust of St. Louis. Its documentary life goes back (to our knowledge) no further than 1850, when it was included (No. 437) in the sale of the collection of the Comte d'Espinoy at Versailles. It is with great detail described in that catalogue, where we read that "soldiers and two men on horseback are near the cross; one of the two mounted men wears, slung from his shoulder, a shield on which is represented a bronze head with the inscription: "ERASMVS. P. 1501."

The catalogue justly points out that "the scarcity of pictures by Erasmus renders this one extremely precious." The Comte, who lived to be eighty-six years of age, had been received as a young soldier by the Buonaparte family at Ajaccio, and in that way there began a friendship with Napoleon which lasted a great many years. This fact is significant, when we recall the large number of pictures removed by Napoleon, and other French generals, from the Netherlands to Paris in 1794. Indeed, this triptych came to this country from France. Nor must we forget that the Comte traced back to Netherlandish ancestors. Pierre de Melun, Prince d'Espinoi, Marquis de Roubaix, Baron d'Antoing de Werchin, et Connétable et Sénéchal héréditaire de Hainault, was a son of Hugues created Prince d'Espinoi in 1545. Their arms were *d'azur à Sept besants d'or 3, 3, et 1; au chef de même*. The same arms are assigned to François de Melun, 31st abbot of the Abbey of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Designated Bishop of Cambrai in 1502, he became Bishop of Arras in 1509, and from 1515 also occupied the see of Thérouanne. These references to the Espinoy and Melun families are no

mere side issue, as one of Erasmus's patrons was the Bishop of Cambrai whose brother was abbot of the monastery of St. Bertin at St. Omer. Indeed, the future humanist—not until now, however, credited by modern writers with ability as a painter—certainly visited St. Bertin's at St. Omer several times in 1500-1501, when this picture was in the making.

In the absence of any heraldic information such as we might have looked for in the triptych, and might have regarded as internal evidence as to its original ownership, we may note that the present work is beyond doubt to be identified with the "magnifique triptyque du célèbre Erasme, signé: Erasmus P. 1501," which was the subject of an article in the Brussels *Journal des Beaux-Arts* of Dec. 15, 1873. The writer, apparently Siret, entitled his article "L'Unique Tableau d'Erasme Retrouvé," and claimed—probably justly—that "les Iconoclastes détruiraient ses tableaux."

The picture is on first sight to be classed as Netherlandish, circa 1490-1500, and seems to indicate the methods and style that obtained in the time of Cornelisz Engelbrechtsen and Jacob Cornelisz van Amsterdam. It bears some relationship to the painting which until lately hung in the south aisle of the Cathedral of St. Sauveur at Bruges, and was assigned by Fierens-Gevaert (*Les Primitifs flamands*, Vol. I, p. 69) to an unknown artist of the year 1500. So loose was the former attribution of pictures in this group that Jakob van Amsterdam's Salome, at The Hague, was at one time or another ascribed to Lucas van Leyden, Quentin Matsys, Albrecht Dürer and Timoteo Viti! Indeed, the correct attribution of our triptych might well have been in doubt for another century or so, had it not been cleaned some six months ago, when the signature and date at last came to light. "Christ on the Cross" is rendered in the center panel, the "Carriage of the Cross" on the dexter wing, and on the sinister "The Deposition." On the backs of the wings are small, full-length figures in grisaille of "Sanctus Piatius" and "S. Vincentius." This triptych is not to be confused with the "Christ on the Cross, with Mary and St. John" which Erasmus painted, as many writers relate, in 1484. Dirk Evertsz van Bleiswyck, writing in 1667, was probably the earliest of writers whose books have survived to record the existence of that picture at Delft; it was known also to Houbraken, who in 1718 records its inclusion in the esteemed cabinet of Prior Cornelius Musius in that city.



ERASMUS: TRIPTYCH.
Collection of Mr. Edward A. Faust, St. Louis.

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The two-lined inscription, a hexameter and a pentameter, which came to be added to that work, was presumably composed by Musius and added by his direction. It was included in the sale of Jacob de Witt in Amsterdam in 1755 (No. 86), was claimed to be "a genuine picture by Erasmus" and "perhaps that mentioned by Houbraken." But its disappearance from that date onwards justifies our belief that Mr. Faust's triptych is the only extant work by Erasmus.

We recall that in his treatise, in 1529, entitled "*De Pueris Statim ac Liberaliter Instituendis Libellus*," Erasmus insisted that "drawing is attractive to boys . . . it will be found useful to add manual dexterity in painting, modelling and architecture." Again, in his "*De Ratione Studii*," of 1511—ten years later than the date on the present triptych—he contended that "Pictures, charts, maps, even real objects, as in gardens, are of great help in lessons," while "to good narrative power the teacher or parent can add the help of pictorial illustration." In his "Colloquies" also he uses the words "pictura" and "pingo." Yet these were the views of the young man who as a scholar at Montaigu College, under the shadow of the monastery of Ste. Genevieve at Paris, "yawned and dozed." "If you could see me sitting under old Dunder-head," he writes, and again, "I think I am getting on. . . ." So human was our humanist and painter!

Placed at fourteen in the school of the Collationary Brothers at Bois-le-Duc, he seemed destined for a monastic life, but he regarded that school as "a very seed-bed of monkery" and "as a place of education worthless." When little more than seventeen, he began to form an aversion to the cloister's irksome round of what he considered mechanical devotions and the restraints imposed by a conventual environment. At eighteen he painted the picture which, as we have seen, belonged in later times to Prior Musius. Ordained priest in 1492, he became known to Henri de Berghes, Bishop of Cambrai, who had had the abbey of St. Omer in his eye for his younger brother Antoine and who, in spite of the election of Jacques du Val, succeeded in having that election annulled in favor of his brother. Often in financial straits, as the Bishop failed in his obligations to the young scholar, Erasmus before long received the patronage of Lord Mountjoy, in whose train he visited England for the first time. In January, 1500, he left Oxford for Dover

en route for the Continent. Still he was in great financial difficulty. At that time he wrote to Battus, the tutor of the Lady de Vere, "how many ignorant asses roll in money. I am working hard enough. I spare nothing, not even my health . . . I must have a few crowns from you. I starve for books. Leisure I have none, and I am out of health besides." He was prepared to spend the winter of 1500-1501 at the château de Courtembrune, near St. Omer. In March, 1501, he writes: "I have by a lucky chance got some Greek works, which I am stealthily transcribing night and day." The study of Greek pressed itself more and more on his attention, but teachers of that language were to be had only at some expense. The summer of 1501 he spent with Antoine de Berghes, of whom we have already heard. It was also during that year that, while residing at Tournahens, the famous Clerk Erasmus of Rotterdam wrote his "Enchiridion militis Christi." In the same year he was back at the Convent of Steen (where he had been entered as a novice at the age of seventeen), at Dordrecht, Brussels, Antwerp, and St. Omer. He found his monastic habit an incumbrance. He was maturing rapidly and coming to realize that his temperament was that of the scholar and critic rather than of the priest and theologian. Did his love of independence, ever his distinguishing characteristic, induce him to resume his practice of the art of painting? And was his perpetual want of money a reason for his achieving and signing the triptych before us? Even twenty years later he was in the same financial straits, for he wrote of the pension due him from Charles V that "if it is ever paid now, it will come too late, unless indeed there is any use for money in the Elysian fields."

Portraits of Erasmus show how well he knew some of the leading painters of his day. Quentin Matsys, Albrecht Dürer, and Hans Holbein the Younger have preserved to us his features, but without giving us a hint, as Dürer might well have done in the Diary he kept during his journey in the Netherlands, of his having practised the art of painting. Perhaps Amiel is correct in concluding that he occupied himself with it "*à titre de délassement*."

Homo fuit atque humanus Erasmus.

